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OCTOBER, 1916

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE FAITHFUL SAYINGS.

1. FIVE sayings quoted in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. i 15, iii 1, iv 8 f; 2 Tim. ii 11 ff; Titus iii 4 ff) bear the label πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, to which in two cases (1 Tim. i 15, iv 9) the writer has added καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος.

For πιστός in 1 Tim. i 15, iii 1, some Latin texts give *humanus*; so in i 15 *r*, MSS known to Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Julian of Eclanum, Augustine $\frac{3}{2}$, and in iii 1 D, *g*, *m*, MSS known to Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Sedulius Hib. Jerome condemns *humanus* (cf. *ad Marcell.* 'nos cum Graecis, id est, cum Apostolo, qui Graece locutus est, erremus: *fidelis sermo*'). Did the O.L. translator read πιστος at the beginning of a line as πινοσ, and take it for the end of ἀνθρώπινος, his mind running perhaps on *humanum dico* (Rom. vi 19)?

Καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος is added by one or two minuscules in 1 Tim. iii 1 and 2 Tim. ii 11.

Neither phrase finds an exact parallel in the N.T.¹ or in the Greek O.T. For both, however, there is good authority in the literary Greek of the time. For πιστὸς ὁ λόγος Wetstein quotes Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Chrysostom, Arrian; ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος is abundant in Diodorus Siculus (*Field Notes on the translation of the N.T.* p. 203 f). Moulton and Milligan (*Vocab.*, s. v. ἀποδοχή) quote an inscription of A.D. 148² which speaks of a citizen of Ephesus as πάσης τιμῆς καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος. Our writer's use of the two phrases is one of many indications that he was not unacquainted with the literary and epigraphic Greek of his age.

2. It is more important to enquire whether πιστὸς ὁ λόγος κτλ. serves to introduce the λόγος in each case or follows it. Or is it used for the one purpose or for the other at the discretion of the writer?

In 1 Tim. i 15 πιστὸς . . . ἄξιος is clearly a preamble, and the saying is attached to it by a recitative ὅτι. In 2 Tim. ii 11, again, though there is no ὅτι, few will doubt that πιστὸς ὁ λόγος is introductory; the γάρ which follows is probably a survival, a note of sequence in the

¹ See, however, Apoc. xxi 5, xxii 6.

² Or 160; see Hicks *Ephesos* p. 145.

source which the writer has not cared to remove. The three other cases present more difficulty. In 1 Tim. iii 1 Chrysostom, followed by a majority of the later Greek commentators, connects πιστὸς ὁ λόγος with the words which go before: πρὸς τοῦτο εἶρηται, οὐ πρὸς τὸ εἰ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται. In this he departs from Theodore, who notes: 'fidele dicens Si quis episcopatum', &c. WH follow Chrysostom in their paraphrasing. But the words that precede embody no principle so important as to call for an affirmation, which, as Theodore remarks, answers to the ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν of the Gospels; while on the other hand the words that follow begin a new and weighty subject, and begin it with strange abruptness, if we detach from them the introductory formula.

The case of 1 Tim. iv 9 is more difficult. Here we have on each side of the formula a saying to which the writer might have wished to call special attention. But (1) v. 10 is seen upon examination to be full of words which are characteristic of the writer of the Pastorals (κοπιᾶν, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἡλπίκαμεν, θεὸς σωτήρ); and (2) v. 8 has more of the epigrammatic ring of the λόγος than v. 10. On the whole there seems to be little reason to doubt that πιστὸς ὁ λόγος follows the saying here. The same conclusion holds good in Titus iii 8, where ἵνα φροντίζωσιν κτλ. surely states the purpose for which the λόγος is to be affirmed, and not its contents. Theodore's judgement has again guided him aright ('dicit fidele verbum, praecedentibus illud adnectens'), and on this occasion he is followed by Chrysostom and Theodoret.

3. We may proceed to examine the sayings themselves, taking them in the order in which they stand in the Epistles.

(1) 1 Tim. i 15. The phrase ἦλθεν (ἔρχεται) εἰς τὸν κόσμον used with reference to the Advent is peculiarly Johannine (or, shall we say? Ephesian). The Fourth Gospel rings the changes upon it, e. g. i 9 ἦν τὸ φῶς . . . ἐρχόμενον εἰς τ. κ., iii 19 τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τ. κ., vi 14 ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τ. κ., ix 39 ἐγὼ εἰς τ. κ. τοῦτον ἦλθον, xi 27 ὁ χριστὸς . . . ὁ εἰς τ. κ. ἐρχόμενος: see also xii 46, xvi 28, xviii 37. Σφῆεν in an ethical or spiritual sense is common to nearly all the N. T. writers, and calls for no comment; but the combination ἦλθον . . . σῶσαι ἁμαρτωλοὺς again reminds us of St John; cf. John iii 17 ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τ. κ. . . ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος, xii 47 ἦλθον . . . ἵνα σώσω τὸν κόσμον.

Too little of this λόγος is quoted to justify any definite conclusion as to its source. But so far as the words carry us, they suggest the rhythmical cadence of an ᾠδὴ πνευματικὴ (ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον | ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι). With the use of λόγος for a fragment of a psalm or hymn cf. λέγει in Eph. iv 8, v 14.

(2) 1 Tim. iii 1. 'If any member of the Church has an appetite for oversight, it is a good work that he covets.'

Both *ὀρέγεσθαι* and *ἐπιθυμεῖν* are capable either of a good or of a bad sense.¹ An *ὄρεξις* may be a craving for what is evil, or an undue or morbid desire for what is in itself good or indifferent (cf. Rom. i 27, 1 Tim. vi 10); but it may also be a wholesome keenness in the pursuit of good (cf. Heb. xi 16). *Ἐπιθυμεῖν* is used in both senses within a single verse (Gal. v 17 ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός [ἐπιθυμεῖ]).

This saying may have been the *apologia pro vita sua* of some *φιλοπρωτεύων* at Ephesus, who excused his eagerness for office by pleading, Καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμῶ. The writer of the Epistle endorses the saying, not without subconscious irony. 'True enough : oversight, the task of the presbyters, is a good work.' But is it good work that the man desires, and is he the man to do it? The description of the presbyter which follows might well take the edge off the appetite of any who sought the office for its own sake. 'Bene *opus* dixit, et non "dignitatem"; nec enim dignitates sunt ecclesiasticae functiones, sed opus.'

(3) 1 Tim. iv 8 f. 'The physical exercise of the *palaestra* profits little; the spiritual exercise of our religion profits in all ways, both here and hereafter.' As Moulton and Milligan say (*Vocabulary*, s. v. *γυμνασία*), there is no reason why *γυμνασία* should not here bear its normal meaning, viz. the discipline and drill of the gymnastic school (*γυμνάσιον*), which formed so important a part of Greek education. At Ephesus, as at Athens, the management of the *gymnasia* was entrusted by the State to officers of high rank (*γυμνασιάρχαι*, Hicks *Ephesos* prolegg. p. 82), and the training of the youth of the city in athletic exercises must have had special importance in view of the agonistic festivals which abounded in the Ephesian calendar (*ibid.* pp. 79, 82; cf. Chapot *La Province Romaine d'Asie* c. vi). The Christian counterpart of this was the discipline exercised over life and character by the religion of Christ. *Εὐσεβεία*, used once in Acts (iii 12) and several times in the late 2 Peter,² is one of the stock words of the Pastorals, and especially frequent in 1 Tim. (ii 2, iii 16, iv 8, vi 3, 5 f, 11); with the article it seems to be used by this writer for the Christian religion (cf. iii 16, and perhaps also vi 5 f). It is interesting to observe that this family of words bears an almost technical sense in Ephesian inscriptions. Thus the phrase *φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοεβαστος, ἀγνός, εὐσεβής* occurs in Hicks, pp. 127, 132 *dis*, where the inscriptions belong to the year A. D. 104; and other citizens are honoured *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν θεὸν (Artemis) εὐσεβείας* (*ibid.* p. 187, *circa* A. D. 106), or because

¹ See Trench *Synonyms* xxxvii.

² The cognates also are limited to Acts, the Pastorals, and 2 Peter (*εὐσεβεῖν*, Acts, 1 Tim.; *εὐσεβής*, Acts, 2 Peter; *εὐσεβῶς*, 2 Tim., Titus).

the person was known as ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῆς θεοῦ (*ibid.* p. 143, A.D. 160). Another Ephesian is described as νεωποιήσας εὐσεβῶς (*ibid.* p. 211), i.e. as having religiously discharged the office of temple-warden. In the Christian at Ephesus, Christ had taken the place of Artemis and the Church that of the Artemision; and the self-control and self-sacrifice of the new life in Christ, which were good for both worlds, were the Christian substitute for the drill of the gymnasium, which was serviceable only for the life that now is.

This saying, like (1) and (2), may well be of Ephesian origin, whether it formed part of a hymn, or was a prophetic utterance, or a fragment of catechesis. It begins, I think, with ἡ σωματικὴ γυμνασία, γάρ being added by the writer to connect it with his previous words γύμναζε κτλ.

(4) 2 Tim. ii 11 ff. Both the words and the thought of *vv.* 11, 12 are manifestly Pauline. Not only are the three compounds συναποθνήσκειν, συνζῆν, συμβασιλεύειν used by St Paul in his earlier Epistles (2 Cor. vii 3, Rom. vi 8, 1 Cor. iv 8), but the doctrine that the Church shares the Death, Resurrection, and Reign of the Lord is one of which, in one form or another, his letters are full. There is in the Epistles a wealth of such thoughts, and of words to express them; cf. συνσταυροῦσθαι (Rom. vi 6, Gal. ii 19), συνθάπτεσθαι (Rom. vi 4, Col. ii 12), συμπάσχειν, συνδοξάζεσθαι (Rom. viii 17), συνεγείρεσθαι (Eph. ii 6, Col. ii 12), συνκαθίζεσθαι (Eph. ii 6), συμμορφίζεσθαι (Phil. iii 10), σκληρονόμοι (Rom. viii 17). There is no stage, past, present, or to come, in the history of the Incarnate Life from the Baptism onwards, in which, *Paulo iudice*, Christians have no share.

So far then this saying is purely Pauline. But when we pass to the second part of it, beginning at εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, we find ourselves in another atmosphere. Ἀρνεῖσθαι, and the set of ideas connected with it, belong to the Gospels, not to the Epistles; and not to the Marcan tradition, but to a tradition common to Matthew and Luke. It is interesting to notice by the way that the saying here approached nearer to the Matthaean than to the Lucan form of the tradition, as the following comparison will shew:

Matt. x 33.	Luke xii 9.	2 Tim. ii 12.
ὅστις [ἀν] ἀρνήσῃται	ὁ ἀρνησάμενος	εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα
... ἀρνήσομαι κἀγώ	... ἀπαρνηθήσεται	... κἀκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται.

The saying ends with an interpretation of 'denial', as it was realized in the experience of the Asian churches. In the early Gentile churches it resolved itself into ἀπιστία on the part of professed πιστοί. The Master on His side could not be ἀπιστος—could not be untrue to His own character or word, though the disciple might become such too easily.

This fourth λόγος seems to be a fragment of a hymn into which some

Pauline church had worked the familiar teaching of the Apostle, together with one of the words of the Lord Jesus¹ which they had heard from him, and which also found its way into the Matthaean-Lucan tradition.

(5) Titus iii 4-8. Another Pauline saying, with a few striking non-Pauline words. Among the Pauline features are *χρηστότης*, used in reference to God (cf. Rom. ii 4, xi 22; Eph. ii 7); [οὐκ] ἐξ ἔργων (Rom. iii 20, iv 2, ix 11, &c.; Gal. ii 16, &c.; Eph. ii 9); ἀνακαίνωσις (Rom. xii 2, cf. Col. iii 10); πλούσιος and its cognates, said of the divine wealth (Rom. ii 4, x 12, xi 33; Eph. i 7, ii 4, 7; Col. iii 16). The last clause (ἵνα δικαιοθῆντες . . . ζωῆς αἰωνίου) is Pauline almost to a word. On the other hand τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς is unlike St Paul's manner, while *παλιγγενεσία* is not only without parallel in his other epistles, but strikes a note somewhat different from his; for St Paul conceives of the beginning of our life in Christ as a re-creation rather than as a re-birth (cf. e.g. 2 Cor. v 17, Eph. iv 24). The use of ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν as a title of our Lord is limited in the New Testament to the Pastorals and 2 Peter.²

If πιστὸς ὁ λόγος looks back to *vv.* 5-7, where does the λόγος begin? at ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης, or at οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων? I am disposed to think that it begins at οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, and that ὅτε δὲ . . . θεοῦ is the writer's note of transition from ἡμεῖς γάρ ποτε κτλ. to the quotation. Our writer, as we have seen, is fond of using phrases borrowed from the later literary Greek, and the combination of *χρηστότης* and *φιλανθρωπία* is one of these (see *Field Notes* p. 222 f).³

It is just possible that in this λόγος we have a fragment of a baptismal address, or (?) a baptismal hymn.⁴ The keynote of the saying will then be struck by the words ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαίνωσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. These words will repay examination. Λουτρόν is used to express the baptismal washing in Eph. v 26 where, as Westcott notes, the two expressions τῷ λουτρῷ and ἐν ῥήματι 'mark what was afterwards known technically as the "matter" and "form" of the Sacrament'. In our λόγος the 'form' is not mentioned, but stress is laid on the inward and spiritual grace signified by the 'matter'. The baptismal bath differs from the bath of daily life in that it is the means of a re-birth. Both λουτρόν and παλιγγενεσία have points of contact with the life of the Graeco-Roman world. The bath had been

¹ Cf. Acts xx 35.

² In Phil. iii 20 σωτὴρ is a predicate.

³ Luke has φιλανθρώπων and φιλανθρωπία (Acts xxvii 3, xxviii 2).

⁴ See Archbishop Bernard's paper in *J. T. S.* xii. Dr Bernard has made out a fair case for his hypothesis that the Odes of Solomon are of this character, but his other examples of the use of such hymns do not go back further than the fourth century.

used in Hellas from the earliest days, as Homer's *θερμὰ λοετρά* testifies. At a later time the Greek city-state provided public baths for the use of its citizens; the gymnasia, too, had baths attached to them in which their pupils washed off the oil and dust of the *palaestra*. The Church also provided a bath for her athletes, to be taken once for all at the beginning of their course for the washing away of sin; cf. Acts xxii 16 ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου: 1 Cor. vi 11 ἀλλ' ἀπελούσασθε: Heb. x 22 λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῷ.

Παλιγγενεσία takes us by surprise when we come upon it first in Matt. xix 28. The word, however, corresponds in some measure to Hebrew and Aramaic terms (see McNeile's or Allen's note on Matt. l.c.); and it was perhaps extensively used by Hellenistic writers of the first century (e.g. it occurs in Philo, and in Clement of Rome *Cor.* 9, where Lightfoot's note may be consulted). Far more remarkable is the bold use of this Greek term in the present λόγος to express the spiritual re-birth of Baptism. Is it suggested by the Stoic notion of a *περιοδική παλιγγενεσία τῶν ὄλων* (M. Antoninus xi 1)? Or does it refer to the Orphic doctrine of a *κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως*, or, as Augustine¹ explains it, 'esse in renascendis hominibus quam appellant *παλιγγενεσίαν* Graeci'? Both views may have been familiar to the Christians of the capital, from whence this λόγος possibly proceeded. In either case this saying offers the first instance of the use of the word in the technical sense which it has borne ever since in Christian theology. The Latin equivalent *regeneratio* is already in Tertullian (*de resurr. carnis* 47) the accepted name for the grace of Christian Baptism, and in that sense it stands in the Book of Common Prayer to-day.

Besides the five 'faithful sayings' there may be embedded in the Pastoral Epistles other sayings which the writer has quoted without mark of approval, but which might have been similarly announced. Evidently the writer is fond of quoting, with or without marks of citation. Thus in 1 Tim. iv 1 he quotes a prophecy with the preamble τὸ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει, and in Titus i 12 Epimenides is cited as τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἰδίου αὐτῶν προφήτης, while on the other hand a sentence from the Book of Numbers (xvi 5), adopted in 2 Tim. ii 19, bears no indication of its source, and the hymn ὃς ἐφανερώθη . . . ἐν δόξῃ is worked into 1 Tim. iii 16 without any sign that it is such beyond its rhythmical form. Other passages will occur which may be quotations from unknown sources; e.g. 1 Tim. ii 5 εἰς θεός, | εἰς καὶ μεσότης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, | ἀνθρώπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς: 2 Tim. ii 8, where the original may have run Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐκ νεκρῶν | ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ . . . : Titus i 15

¹ *De civitate* xxii 28 (cited by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii p. 797). See Miss Jane Harrison *Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion* p. 590 f.

πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς. In these and a few other sentences a latent reference to some Christian hymn or utterance may well be suspected, though in such cases it is impossible to get beyond unverifiable conjecture.

H. B. SWETE.

ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ.

ITS USE AND MEANING ESPECIALLY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE question of the endless punishment of the wicked provoked a prolonged and useful controversy in English religious circles during the second half of the nineteenth century. This controversy included and, to some extent, turned upon the exact meaning to be assigned to αἰώνιος. In our present investigation into the meaning and use of that term especially in the New Testament, it will be well therefore to begin by glancing briefly at the contentions of some of the chief protagonists in that controversy with regard to the meaning which they had thought or could not be given to αἰώνιος, and their reasons for their conclusions.

The controversy began with the appearance of F. D. Maurice's *Theological Essays* in 1853, the last of which was entitled 'On Eternal Life and Eternal Death'. In this essay, Maurice contends with regard to αἰώνιος that it must have the same meaning when applied to blessedness as when applied to punishment.¹ He will have nothing to do with 'attaching two different meanings to the word αἰώνιος in different applications. The subject which it qualifies cannot affect the sense which is upon it.' Moreover, when used in the New Testament, it is, 'by all rules of reason, to be considered in reference to God, when it is applied to Him, must determine all its other meanings 'without beginning and end', although the use of it without impropriety in a Greek classical author, or in the Greek language, may not be given to it in the New Testament when applied to God, for that is merely a negative method of expressing His being'. In relation to God, 'whether it is applied to life or to punishment' it 'has nothing to do with the sense of duration which Englishmen attach to it'. This is the view of John Locke. Knowledge of God 'consists in the perception of the loss of it is Eternal Death', and this knowledge is eternal.

But Charles Kingsley, who accepted the same view of the logical teaching, did not interpret it as Kingsley did.

¹ *Op. cit.* 34 et seq.

wrote in 1857: 'The word (αἰών) never is used in Scripture or anywhere else in the sense of endlessness (vulgarly called eternity). It always meant, both in Scripture and out, a period of time. . . . Αἰώνιος therefore means, and must mean, belonging to an epoch, or the epoch; αἰώνιος κόλασις is the punishment allotted to that epoch.'¹

However, in 1864 Dr Pusey preached a sermon² before the University of Oxford in which he contended that the punishment of sinners is everlasting, and that the term αἰώνιος in Scripture admits of and includes the notion of endlessness. To this sermon he appended a note on the use of the word αἰώνιος in classical Greek, 'written for me, in view of my sermon, by the best Greek scholar of his day, my friend the Rev. J. Riddell.' 'It appears from this that the word was used strictly of eternity, an eternal existence, such as shall be, when time shall be no more.'³

Dr Samuel Cox (for ten years editor of the *Expositor*), in his volume *Salvator Mundi*, published in 1877, adopts very much the same view as Kingsley, but greatly develops it. He even asserts that the sense of αἰώνιος for which Maurice contended—'that which is *above and beyond time*, that which is independent of duration . . . God for example, and Christ, and indeed all that pertains to the spiritual realm—as faith, hope, charity, righteousness, peace' is not 'the original meaning of the word'. 'This higher sense', he says, has been put into it.⁴ The word is 'saturated through and through with the thought and element of time'.⁵ 'The adjective (αἰώνιος) must derive the whole of its meaning from the substantive (αἰών) from which it is derived.'⁶ In the New Testament the word is used in connexion with the Jewish doctrine of the aeons. For the Jews of our Lord's time human history was divided into many ages, in each of which some counsel of the Divine Will is wrought out. Instead of affirming that time shall be no more when men pass out of this present order and age, the New Testament speaks of 'ages to come' as well as of ages that are past. In the past the Patriarchal age, the Mosaic age; in the future, 'the age of the Messiah' or 'the age to come', to be followed by other ages such as the Millennium and the Regeneration. 'In short,' writes Dr. Cox, 'we find in the New Testament a series of aeons which are to precede, and in which men are to be prepared for, that final and eternal state in which, Christ having delivered up His kingdom to the Father, God shall be all in all.'

All these preparatory and intermediate ages, moreover, are contained

¹ Charles Kingsley: *His Letters and Memories of his Life*, 16th abgd. ed. vol. i p. 307.

² *Everlasting Punishment* in vol. iii. Pusey's University Sermons.

³ *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* 3rd ed. (1880) p. 38 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 97.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 100.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 100.

within, are comprehended by, a vast epoch which St Paul calls '*the aeon of the aeons*', i. e., the age which includes all ages, which covers the whole course of time; the age also in which what he calls God's '*purpose for the ages*', i. e., the redemption of the human race, will be wrought out. This doctrine of the ages or aeons is the key to the meaning of *αἰώνιος*.

Αἰώνιος refers to this period, process, and purpose. 'The epithet', says Dr Cox, 'is applied to God, to Christ, and to the Holy Ghost in the New Testament, and to every particular and aspect of that great redemptive work.'¹

Hence the phrases aeonian² purpose, aeonian times, aeonian redemption, aeonian judgement, aeonian punishment, aeonian fire, aeonian salvation, aeonian life, aeonian inheritance, aeonian habitations, must all be interpreted in the light of the aeons theory. Even Aeonian Spirit must be so interpreted, viz.: as '*the Zeitgeist, or Time-Spirit, the Spirit of the Christian age or ages*'.³ 'The Spirit of God, the Father of all men; the Spirit revealed in Christ the Saviour of all men; this is the Spirit which in very deed sits brooding with wide and extended wings over the successive ages of time, . . . blending and binding those ages into a sacred unity, and conducting men through them all towards the many mansions of that great Home, not made with hands, which is eternal, in the heavens.'⁴

In 1877 Canon Farrar preached five sermons in Westminster Abbey which were published in the next year under the title *Eternal Hope*. Both in the Preface and in a special Excursus the author deals with the meaning of *αἰώνιος*. Farrar claims in the Preface that in numbers of Biblical passages the word 'cannot mean "endless"'. 'All scholars alike admit that in many places *αἰών* can only mean "age" and *αἰώνιος* only "age-long", or (in the classic sense of the word) "secular", which is often equivalent to "indefinite". Many scholars who have a good right to be heard deny that it ever necessarily means "endless", though it is predicted of endless things.'⁵

In the Excursus he asserts that 'it has been so ably proved by so many writers that there is no authority whatever for rendering it "everlasting"'.⁶ It 'is used over and over again of things transitory'.⁷ There are certain passages in which it means 'spiritual', 'suprasensuous'—something above and beyond time.

Farrar's book contains a valuable letter⁸ from Professor E. H. Plumptre, in which he writes of *αἰώνιος*: 'I cannot, on philological

¹ P. 114.

² Dr Cox uses the painful hybrid 'aeonial'.

³ P. 113.

⁴ P. 114.

⁵ *Op. cit.* Preface to the 1st ed., p. xliii in 1892 ed.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 197.

⁷ P. 199.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 200.

grounds, agree with Mr Maurice in thinking that our Lord's teaching in John xvii 3 excludes from it the idea of duration, and the whole history of the word shews that it cannot, as a word, denote endlessness.¹

In 1879 appeared Dr Pusey's *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* in answer to Farrar's *Eternal Hope*.

In 1881 Farrar returned to the subject in his book *Mercy and Judgment*, and contended that the word αἰώνιος 'never means endless', and that 'even if *aeon* always meant "eternity"—which is not the case either in classic or Hellenistic Greek—*aionios* could still only mean "belonging to eternity", not lasting through it'. But he allows that '*Aionios* may in some cases connote endlessness because it catches something of its colour from the words to which it is joined; just as the word "indefinite" might catch the sense of "infinite" if in speaking of things which for other reasons I knew to be infinite in duration, I spoke of them as being of indefinite duration. It is a word which, like many other adjectives, shines simply by reflected light.'²

'In point of fact the word "spiritual" conveys a much nearer approximation to the New Testament usage of *aionios* (at any rate as St John and St Paul use it) than either "everlasting" or "endless".'³

The Nicene phrase 'of the world to come' might in many instances be the best rendering of it. Farrar agrees with Schleusner that so far as αἰώνιος has any reference to duration at all, its duration is 'determined by the subject to which it is applied'.⁴

At this point we may leave the controversy. Many⁵ contributed to it whose views are not cited. Nevertheless the views cited bring out the chief meanings which may be assigned to the word αἰώνιος in its different contexts.

DERIVATION, AND CLASSICAL AND SEPTUAGINTAL USES.

The word αἰώνιος is certainly derived from αἰών. As for αἰών, we may hesitate to accept Aristotle's derivation of it from αἰέ and ὤν, and adopt the safer course of deriving both αἰών and αἰεί from the same root ΑΙΦ, which is apparently connected with the notion of time. Grimm however, it should perhaps be observed, derived αἰών from ἀνιμι, *breathe, blow*.⁶ But Max Müller, in a letter to Pusey, writes: '*Aevum* is from the same root as αἰών and the Sanskrit *ayus*; the root is *i*, and means *to go*.'⁷ But Moulton and Milligan, in the latest of Greek Lexicons, assert that in the Sanskrit *ayu* 'the idea of life, and especially of long life, predominates'. They think, therefore, that 'long life' or possibly

¹ P. 190.

² Pp. 378 f.

³ P. 394.

⁴ P. 399.

⁵ e.g. Oxenham, Goulburn, Jukes.

⁶ Thayer-Grimm's *Lexicon of the New Testament* ad loc.

⁷ Cf. *Lectures on the Science of Language* 7th ed. vol. ii pp. 273-274.

'old-age' may have been the primitive meaning of *αἰών*.¹ However, so far as we are concerned, derivation is not of supreme importance, for it is usage which must settle its meaning, *Αἰών* is the equivalent of *ævum*, and like it means primarily an *age*, or *period of time*. Aristotle defines *αἰών* as the limit (τὸ τέλος) which embraces the time of each man's life. This is the man's *αἰών*. Similarly, the limit of the whole heaven which embraces all time and infinity is also its *αἰών*.²

'This double use', so Dr Agar Beet asserts, 'is found in all Greek literature. In other words, *αἰών* means primarily a man's lifetime, or human life in the aspect of time. It was then felt that there is a life longer than that of an individual, that the realm of things around has its time, and with lapse of time will or may pass away.'³ It is this double meaning of the word which has been the cause of some of the subsequent troubles. The *αἰών* of each thing differs. For one of the Ephemerae it is a few brief hours in the sunshine, for the solar system it is millions and millions of years. Yet the word is applied correctly to the duration of each. It is clear at once that when defined in terms of time, *αἰών* is Protean. When the exact period of the duration of anything is known, its *αἰών* is known. If the thing's duration be endless, then *αἰών* when used in connexion with that thing will mean endless also. In the LXX (one great source of our New Testament Greek) *αἰών* is used to translate some nine Hebrew terms: תָּמִיד קָדָם עָלָם or עֵלִיּוֹם or עוֹלָם or עַד נֶצַח or הֶלְאָה אֲחֵרָן הָלָם: עוֹד.⁴ Some of these include the notion of perpetuity and others do not. In the majority of cases it is used to render עוֹלָם—a word as indefinite as itself, for עוֹלָם may mean a definite period of time, or it may mean and often does mean in various compound and adverbial phrases a period which is unlimited. For instance in Ps. xc 2 (LXX lxxxix), the ascription to the Almighty, 'Thou art God from everlasting and world without end', is represented by the Hebrew מִעוֹלָם עַד עוֹלָם אֱתָהּ אֵל, which the LXX renders ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. So in Isa. xlv 17 'everlasting' is the R.V. rendering of עוֹלָמִים, and this in the LXX is αἰώνιον. The corresponding phrase עַד עוֹלָמִי עַד in the parallel strophe, rendered in the R.V. 'world without end', appears in the LXX as ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔτι. Dean Vaughan collected from the LXX some sixteen of these phrases compounded with *αἰών*, and all of them appear

¹ *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (1914) pt. i p. 16.

² *De Caslo* Bk. i 9.

³ *The Last Things* 3rd ed. (1898) p. 116.

⁴ See Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the LXX and the other Versions of the Old Testament* (1897).

to mean *for ever*.¹ He notes, however, that 'amidst this great variety of phrases, the double plural form, *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* appears to be used only in the New Testament'. Hence Dr Pusey was justified philologically when he contended that the notion of endlessness is contained in the use of the word. The same may be said of its derivative *αἰώνιος*. This word first appears in Plato, but J. Riddell holds (in the note referred to above) that it is clear that it was not coined by Plato.² After examining the five passages in which it occurs in Plato and the two in the so-called *Timaeus Loc.*, he sums up: 'These are all passages in which the reference is to the world of ideas, and consequently *αἰώνιος* is an attribute of things which essentially possess retrospective and prospective eternity. But it is to be noted further, that the meaning of *αἰώνιος* here is not fixed by its application to them, but that this attribute (retrospective and prospective eternity) is asserted of them by the word *αἰώνιος*.'³

IN DANIEL AND JEWISH APOCALYPSES.

This conclusion, pre-supposing that it is correct, is of considerable importance, for it will mean that Platonic philosophers or writers under the influence of Plato will probably use *αἰώνιος* in the transcendental or timeless sense in which he used it. We shall *a priori* expect to find this use in Alexandria, that great home of Platonizing philosophy, and in the writings of Philo Judaeus, and then in those writers of the New Testament who seem to have been acquainted with Alexandrian Hellenism and to have been influenced to some extent by its phraseology and ways of thinking. Moulton and Milligan, whose extensive knowledge of papyri and inscriptions gives their judgement the highest value, write: 'Without pronouncing any opinion on the special meaning which theologians have found for this word [*αἰώνιος*], we must note that outside the New Testament, in the vernacular as in the classical Greek, it never loses the sense of *perpetuus*. It is a standing epithet of the Emperor's power. . . . In general the word depicts that of which the horizon is not in view, whether the horizon be at an infinite distance, as in Catullus's poignant lines:

Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est *perpetua* una dormienda,

or whether it lies no farther than the span of a Caesar's life'.⁴

In the LXX (Canonical and Apocryphal books) *αἰώνιος* occurs over 160 times, and is used to translate the Aramaic ܕܠܝܢ and the Hebrew

¹ See C. J. Vaughan *St Paul's Epistle to the Romans* p. 21.

² Farrar does not agree with this.

³ Pusey's *University Sermons* vol. iii p. 34.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 16.

עֲלִיד. It may constantly be rendered in English by *ancient, incessant, of long duration, perpetual, everlasting*. In Ps. xxiv 7, 9 it is used of the *ancient* gates of Zion, 'venerable with unknown antiquity.'¹ In Proverbs xxii 28 and xxiii 10 it is used of *ancient* landmarks. In Ps. lxxvi 4 (LXX lxxv) it is used of the mountains. It is constantly applied to the Divine Covenants, e.g. to those with Noah, Israel, David. In Leviticus it is frequently used of the ordinances of the Law. In some cases it denotes, or rather connotes, endlessness. In other cases its meaning is that of temporal duration of a prolonged and indefinite character, either past or future—a period extending far beyond a human generation.²

The great majority of cases in which it is used in the LXX seem, however, to have but little bearing upon its more striking uses in the New Testament: forty-four times in the latter it is used to qualify ζωή. Now there is only one place in the LXX canonical books in which αἰώνιος is used in this connexion, and that is in Daniel xii 2. This fact provides a most important clue. ζωὴ αἰώνιος or its Aramaic equivalent was a phrase constantly on our Lord's lips, but so also were the phrases ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. These phrases, or to be more correct, the sources of them, also appear in Daniel. But Daniel, as we now realize, is the earliest³ extant of those curious and influential Jewish books known as Apocalypses, and its writer, like the writer of Deuteronomy, provided a storehouse of phrases and ideas for those who came after him.

These phrases may be called apocalyptic or eschatological in the sense that they refer to definite albeit developing conceptions as to the nature of the last things revealed by these apocalyptic writers. When we turn to Daniel, we find that αἰώνιος occurs there seven times. In iii 33, where it is used of God's Kingdom (βασιλεία); in iv 31, of God's authority or rule (ἐξουσία); in vii 14, of the authority given to one like unto a son of man; in vii 27, of the kingdom of the saints of the Most High; in ix 24, of the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) to be brought in after the seventy weeks of tribulation; in xii 2, of the life (ζωή = Heb. חַיִּים) and the shame (αἰσχύνη) which are to be the respective lots of the righteous and of the wicked after the resurrection. The resurrection of the dead is, of course, peculiar to this book of the Old Testament, and so far as we know the definite assertion of it occurs here for the

¹ See Kirkpatrick *The Psalms*, ad loc.

² Dr Armitage Robinson notes in his *Commentary on Ephesians* p. 168 that 'γενεά is used as a sub-division of αἰών'.

³ No doubt Isaiah xxiv-xxvii, and the apocalyptic portions of Zechariah are earlier than Daniel, but they are hardly apocalypses in the sense that Daniel and its successors are. Rather they mark the transition from prophecy to apocalypse.

first time in Jewish literature. It is clear that *αἰώνιος* is used and only used, in Daniel, in connexion with the rule or kingdom of God to be established on earth. This kingdom of God or kingdom of the saints of the Most High is not strictly speaking Messianic, for in Daniel there is no Messiah. The one like unto a son of man (vii 13)¹ is not a *person* in Daniel but a *symbol* of the character of that kingdom of the saints of the Most High in contrast to the brute kingdoms which preceded it. These other kingdoms are symbolized by the four great beasts which came up from the sea (vii 3), whereas the Divine Kingdom is symbolized by the son of man from heaven. The point, however, at which we have arrived is that *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* is the life of the citizen of the kingdom of God. This appears very distinctly in that apocalyptic book *The Similitudes* (or Parables) of *Enoch* (i. e. the section xxxvii–lxxi of the Book of Enoch). The *Similitudes of Enoch* (so Schürer, Dillmann, Charles, Beer, Burkitt, Oesterley are agreed) belongs to the first century before Christ.² The book was written originally either in Hebrew or Aramaic, and there is apparently no Greek version extant, but what, if we had a Greek version, would undoubtedly be rendered by *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* and in the original Hebrew or Aramaic would have been *חַיִּי עוֹלָם* or *חַיִּי עֲלָמָא* is referred to in three passages (xxxvii 4, xl 9, lviii 3) as the privilege of those admitted to the Messiah's Kingdom. For in the *Similitudes* the Son of Man or Heavenly Messiah is a person not a symbol (cf. xli 2 f, xlviii 2, lxii 9, 14, lxiii 11, lxix 26 f., lxx 1); and 'eternal life' (so rendered by Dr R. H. Charles in the passage referred to) is *the life of a member of the Messianic Kingdom*.³

In the *Similitudes* the Messianic Kingdom initiated by the final judgement is eternal and embraces heaven and earth. Its members possess 'spiritual bodies'.⁴ Hence in the *Similitudes* the conception of this 'eternal life' is highly spiritual because the conception of the Messianic Kingdom is so. But in other Apocalyptic books the conception of the Kingdom is very different, hence the life of the kingdom is also different. For instance, in Enoch i–xxxvi it is limited in duration and materialistic in character⁵; in Enoch lxxiii–xc its duration is

¹ See note in S. R. Driver's *Daniel*, pp. 102–110, and also Bp Westcott in *St John's Gospel*, Speaker's Commentary, p. 33.

² Dalman is not certain.

³ See Charles's comment on Enoch xxxviii 4 in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* vol. ii p. 209.

⁴ See Oesterley *The Books of the Apocrypha* (1914) p. 208.

⁵ The phrase occurs in Enoch x 10 (this section was written before the second half of the second century B. C.), and there the 'eternal life' is limited to 500 years. Various views were held as to who would share in the resurrection which would precede the establishment of the kingdom. (See Charles on Enoch li 1.)

uncertain ; in Enoch xci-civ the Messianic Kingdom is temporary, and 'the real recompense of the righteous is the eternal life which follows on the close of the Messianic Kingdom and the final judgement'.¹

In the *Secrets of Enoch* xxxii 2-xxxiii 2 (written between 30 B. C. and 70 A.D.) the Messiah's reign is thought of as lasting for 1,000 years.² In the *Fourth Book of Esdras* it is limited to 400 years.

In verse 16 of the third of the *Psalms of Solomon* (composed between 70 B. C. and 40 B. C.) occur these words: 'But they that fear the Lord shall rise again unto life eternal' (ἀναστήσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον).

The learned commentators (H. E. Ryle and M. R. James), after stating that these words are probably derived from Dan. xii 2, sum up what a study of Jewish Apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical literature makes clear in this matter. "Eternal life" (ζωὴ αἰώνιος) so often referred to in the writings of the New Testament had, half a century before the Christian era, been accepted as part of a feature in Jewish religious thought.'³

IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

This connexion between the ζωὴ αἰώνιος in the Jewish Apocalypses and the coming kingdom of God is fully preserved in the Synoptic Gospels. The connexion between the two is so close that a comparative study of the Synoptists shews that the terms ἡ ζωὴ or ζωὴ αἰώνιος and ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν can be interchanged. In Mk. ix 42-49 where our Lord is speaking of the uses of asceticism, the cutting off of the hand or foot or plucking out of the eye, He uses εἰς τὴν ζωὴν in the first two metaphors (vv. 42, 45), and εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ in the third (v. 47). In Mt. xviii 9, the parallel account of our Lord's saying in Mk. ix 47, the phrase is εἰς τὴν ζωὴν.

To take another instance, in comparing the sections Mk. x 17-27, Mt. xix 16-26, Lk. xviii 18-27. The Rich Young Man in Mk. asks our Lord 'What shall I do that I may inherit ζωὴν αἰώνιον (Mt. τὴν ζωὴν). After the questioner has departed, our Lord exclaims: How hardly shall they that have riches enter into τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (in Mt. τῶν οὐρανῶν).

The fact that 'eternal life' and 'the kingdom of heaven' are synonyms does not mean however that they are exact equivalents. Dr Charles has expressed the distinction thus: 'Eternal life' is the highest good of the individual; 'the kingdom' is the highest good of the community. ζωὴ αἰώνιος may therefore be rendered in the Synoptic Gospels *the life of the kingdom*. Thus the temporal sense of αἰώνιος becomes subordinate, not primary. The notion of duration is no doubt still there, but it is

¹ See Charles *ad loc.*

² See Charles *Secrets of Enoch* (1896) pp. 45-47 notes.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 38.

the quality or character of the life which is marked by *αἰώνιος* in the Synoptic Gospels.¹

'The sum of Messianic blessedness' (Lücke); 'the eternal Messianic life' (Meyer); 'eternal life, which cannot be enjoyed apart from the kingdom, is the most comprehensive expression for the blessedness of the kingdom' (Charles).²

Whether this life is presented in the Synoptic Gospels as present or only future, that is, as purely eschatological, it is not easy to decide. Canon Charles discusses the point with considerable fullness, and concludes that in the Synoptic Gospels the Kingdom is represented now as present, now as future; now as inward and spiritual, now as external and manifest.³ Our Lord's earlier Synoptic teaching, according to Dr Charles, presents it as present: the Kingdom came with the Messiah and His Gospel. When, however, at a later stage His death was in view He spoke of the kingdom as future, and this future kingdom as coming not by the ordinary laws of spiritual growth but eschatologically by the direct intervention of God (pp. 315 f). If Dr Charles is right, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* ought also to be presented in the Synoptists as both present and future. In the Synoptists it is undoubtedly presented as future and as heavenly; whether it is also presented as a present possession is open to question. Of the thirteen times *αἰώνιος* occurs in the Synoptists it is used eight times of life (*ζωή*). In the remaining five cases it is used twice of *πῦρ* (Mt. xviii 8; xxv 41). This eternal fire of Gehenna, the conception of which is primarily derived from Isaiah lxvi, appears constantly in the Apocalypses.⁴ In them it is the fate of fallen angels, Gentiles, and apostate Jews. It may be called *eternal*, not primarily because of its duration but *because it befalls those who are sentenced by the Messiah to exclusion from His Kingdom*. For the same reason *αἰώνιος* is predicated of *ἀμάρτημα* (Mk. iii 29). (The less well-attested reading yields *κρίσις*.) An eternal sin is one which excludes the sinner from the future Messianic Kingdom. The parallel passage (in Mt. xii 32) declares that the sin shall not be forgiven, neither *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι* nor *ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι*. The phrase *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων* or *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος* or *ὁ αἰὼν ἐκείνος* is the translation of the Aramaic phrases *ܕܢܗܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ* and *ܕܢܗܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ*. (The Hebrew equivalent is *אֵלֶּיךָ עוֹלָם*.) These phrases it appears are synonymous in the Targums

¹ I have made no effort to distinguish here between Mark and Q, as it is not germane to our investigation.

² *Eschatology* p. 314.

³ So also Sanday *Outlines of the Life of Christ* p. 85 f.

⁴ Ass. Mos. x 10; ii Bar. lix 10; Pirke Aboth i 5; v 22, 24; iv Esdras vii 36; Enoch xxvii 2, 3; xc 26, 27; passim. See also W. O. E. Oesterley *The Books of the Apocrypha* p. 289 f.

(and so, we may assume, were synonymous in Rabbinical, rather than in popular phraseology, in our Lord's time) with the phrase חַי עוֹלָם. The Hebrew equivalents are חַי עוֹלָם and חַי עוֹלָמִים. The later form of the expression was חַי הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא. Dalman holds that on the lips of Jesus חַי עוֹלָם is not improbably synonymous with מְלִכּוּתָא דְּחַיָּיָא. 'In the final judgement it is not the ending or continuation of earthly existence that constitutes the decisive issue; but either, on the one hand, the penalty of an eternal death by fire, the scene of which is Gehenna, which involves permanent exclusion from the theocracy; or, on the other hand, appointment to the eternal life which is consummated in the theocracy, or, in Rabbinical terms, "in the age to come." Hence "*eternal life*" radically means participation in the "theocracy"; and it is substantially the same thing whether it be the entrance into the theocracy or into eternal life that is spoken of.'¹ It is used of κόλασις (Mt. xxv 46) as the equivalent of πῦρ. The fact that κόλασις, not τιμωρία, is used here is held by some commentators to indicate that the punishment of the wicked is reformatory and disciplinary and not penal. It is doubtful whether this distinction between κόλασις and τιμωρία can be sustained in all cases. In Lk. xvi 9 αἰώνιος is used of σκηναί. These blissful abodes of the blessed in the Messiah's kingdom are often referred to in Enoch. In chapter xxxix the seer is vouchsafed a vision of 'the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous'.²

In all these cases it may be claimed that αἰώνιος has an eschatological sense such as we find in the Jewish Apocalypses, and that in the Synoptic Gospels the best rendering of it would be *Messianic* or *theocratic*. 'The difference between the preaching of Jesus and Jewish views' on eternal life, so runs Dalman's conclusion, 'consists not in the idea of the life, but in what Jesus has to say of the theocracy and of that righteousness without which life in the theocracy can never be attained.'³ But just as our Lord's conception of the Messiahship and of the Kingdom and of Righteousness was by no means identical with prevalent Jewish and Apocalyptic conceptions, so doubtless the content of ζωὴ αἰώνιος or its Aramaic equivalent on His lips differed also from current notions. It is this different and deeper significance which 'the beloved disciple' attempts to reveal in the Fourth Gospel.

IN THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.

In the Fourth Gospel αἰώνιος occurs seventeen times, and it is

¹ Dalman *Words of Jesus* p. 161 f.

² E. W. Winstanley gives an excellent section on Eternal Tabernacles, pp. 246-248, in his *Jesus and the Future*.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 162.

predicated of life (ζωή) alone. ζωή αἰώνιος in this Gospel almost entirely takes the place which the Kingdom occupies in the Synoptists. The reason for this is clear. 'Eternal life as the good of the individual can only be realized in so far as it brings the individual into vital union with the divine community . . . Thus eternal life and the kingdom are correlative and complementary thoughts in the Fourth Gospel.'¹

Ζωή αἰώνιος can only be realized in one way, that is by love (ἀγάπη), which is the very essence of the Divine Nature. Hence the word αἰώνιος in this Gospel loses its time-sense altogether. Time as a reality does not exist for this writer any more than it does for Plato and the great Alexandrians. Philo, with whom he has affinities, wrote: 'The unerring proper name of eternity is To-day.' 'To-day is interminable eternity . . . The periods of months and years, and in short, all the divisions of time, are only the inventions of men doing honour to number.'² Thus, as Westcott remarks, αἰώνιος in this Gospel 'seems to refuse to be limited by time conditions altogether'. Everything that is real for this writer is present, and of course it is future too. Thus ζωή αἰώνιος is a *present possession, a Divine gift granted to men through the Son of God*. It is retained only by those who abide in the Father and in the Son. It is dependent upon personal relationship. Physical death is but an incident in this eternal life. Time and space and material conditions have no power over it.³ It is lived in an eternal Now. Thus αἰώνιος refers altogether to the quality of the life. It is *Divine life, and it is spiritual. It is timeless and 'ethical'*. They who know God; they who walk in the light; they who love one another have eternal life now and for ever. May we not feel that the writer of this Gospel—the εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν, as Clement of Alexandria calls it—has rightly grasped the deeper significance with which our Lord used this phrase—a significance which is veiled in some degree in the Synoptists? In the six places in which αἰώνιος occurs in the First Epistle of St John,⁴ it is always used of ζωή, and its significance is exactly that which it is in the Fourth Gospel.⁵

In the Johannine Gospel and Epistle the best English rendering is 'eternal', in the sense in which F. D. Maurice used that word. 'Everlasting' would be quite unsuitable.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews αἰώνιος occurs six times and is used of σωτηρία, κρίμα, λύτρωσις, πνεῦμα, κληρονομία, διαθήκη.

¹ R. H. Charles *Eschatology* p. 368.

² *De Profugis* xi.

³ See passim Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection*.

⁴ It does not occur in the Second and Third Epistles.

⁵ See Westcott *Epistles of St John* pp. 214-218.

This λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως, so Septuagintal in vocabulary and 'characteristically Hellenistic' in style,¹ bears also the stamp of Alexandria upon its thought.² This is seen especially in its Philonic allegorizing and in its Platonic conception of heavenly archetypes of which earthly things, even the most sacred institutions of Judaism, are but copies.

Philo defines αἰών as the life of God. 'It is', says he, 'not time, but the archetype of time, and in it there is neither past, present, nor future.'³ Thus αἰώνιος would mean for a Philonic mind *archetypal, transcendental, real*—having much the same sense as ἀληθινός has in the Johannine writings. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen wrote: 'I think eternal means *essential* in opposition to *phenomenal*'; that might be taken to be its meaning in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It is the *archetypal* in contrast to the typical, the *final* in contrast to the preparatory, the *spiritual* in contrast to the material, the *abiding* in contrast to the temporary, the *real* in contrast to the phenomenal. Westcott in his commentary on this epistle renders αἰώνιος by 'spiritual, eternal, divine' (p. 131). Thus the salvation (σωτηρία αἰώνιος (v 9)) Jesus brings is the real and final thing. All other forms of salvation were but temporal and, if we will, but typical of it. So also of the λύτρωσις αἰώνιος (ix 12) achieved by Jesus. It is the archetypal λύτρωσις prefigured by the Levitical sacrificial system, and it has an abiding efficacy. The oft-repeated Levitical sacrifices were temporally efficacious because of the animal's blood which was sprinkled or poured out and its flesh sent up to heaven by the agency of material fire. Christ's sacrifice is not of this character. It is a spiritual sacrifice and consists of His personality. 'Lo, I come to do Thy Will, O God', and it is the Eternal Spirit, no material fire, which presents it to God.⁴

So also the κληρονομία αἰώνιος (ix 15) which is promised through Jesus, of which the land allotments in Canaan were but types, is a spiritual and abiding inheritance. So also the διαθήκη αἰώνιος (xii 20) consecrated in the blood of Jesus is the real and final covenant between God and man to which all the ancient covenants with patriarchs and kings were but preparatory and of which they were but typical. So also of the judgement (κρίμα αἰώνιον) (vi 2) which follows on the resurrection of the dead. The judgements of earth and of human

¹ Westcott.

² Although Canon Charles does not adopt the Alexandrian interpretation in treating the eschatology of this Epistle, he points out that the eschatology might be so construed. *Eschatology* p. 361.

³ See *Philo Iudaicus*, by James Drummond, vol. i p. 295, and references there.

⁴ I have no doubt that spirit was regarded as the archetype of fire by this writer. There was a Rabbinical belief that the angels were created out of fire on the first day. 'His ministers a flame of fire.'

history but prefigure it. It is the final and decisive judgement and concerns not the body but the spirit.

The object of this epistle is to demonstrate the final, perfect, and spiritual character of Christianity in contrast to the temporary, preparatory, and material character of Judaism; and it is only by remembering the purpose of the epistle that the correct interpretation can be given to *αἰώνιος* in the crucial passages in which it occurs.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

The word *αἰώνιος* occurs twenty-one times in St Paul's epistles. In the Pauline epistles it is hardly possible to find a single dominant meaning for *αἰώνιος* as in the Johannine writings or in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In St Paul's epistles we behold a Christian theologian in the making, and observe the way in which Rabbinical views are gradually modified under the influence of Christian principles and Christian experiences. Some have even denied that there is anything special in the Apostle's eschatology. Wrede wrote: 'There is a Pauline doctrine of redemption, a Pauline doctrine of justification, but there is—to speak *cum grano salis*—no Pauline angelology and eschatology, but only a Jewish or primitive Christian.'¹

This statement does not give an altogether correct impression. Although we find no single eschatological system in St Paul's writings, we can mark alteration and developement in his eschatological outlook. Dr Charles even claims to trace four stages in its developement. The stages are as follows: (1) in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, (2) in 1 Corinthians, (3) in 2 Corinthians and Romans, (4) in Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians. And if the Pastoral epistles be regarded as Pauline this may necessitate a fifth stage.

This will mean that an eschatological word like *αἰώνιος* is hardly likely to remain constant in its significance throughout all the Pauline writings—yet to distinguish these *nuances* of meaning in the different stages is impossible, for this among other reasons, that the data are too limited. If we except the Pastoral Epistles the word only occurs thirteen times; five of these times it is predicated of *ζωή*. For St Paul every Christian is *σωζόμενος*, but *σωτηρία* is a process which only culminates when the ascended Christ returns in judgement (cf. 1 Thess. v 9; 2 Thess. ii 13; Rom. v 9 f, xiii 11). This also appears to be the Apostle's view of *ζωή αἰώνιος*. It is a life given to men through Christ. It is the consummation of the Christian earth-life. *τὸ δὲ τέλος, ζῶν αἰώνιον* (Rom. vi 22). It is a Divine gift—*χάρισμα*—(Rom. vi 23; v 21), but it is also earned (Rom. ii 7, Gal. vi 8, 1 Tim. vi 12). The dominant

¹ Quoted by H. A. A. Kennedy *St Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things* (1904) 2nd ed. p. 3.

conception of it is that it is future and becomes the complete possession of the Christian when Christ returns in glory. *It is plainly Messianic and eschatological.*¹

In the same sense it is used by St Paul of the future glory (δόξα) of the Christian (2 Cor. iv 17, 2 Tim. ii 10). This is perhaps similar to its use in 1 Pet. v 10. It has the same significance in Acts xiii 46 (St Paul's sermon at Pisidian Antioch) and in verse 48. In 2 Thess. i 9 it is used in the same sense of the destruction (ὀλεθρος) which shall befall the wicked when the Apocalyptic Messiah descends to reward his saints and to administer to the wicked ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ so long withheld. In these earlier Epistles St Paul shews himself to be very much under the influence of the current Jewish apocalyptic conceptions.

In 2 Cor. iv 18 it is used in one of the senses in which it is used in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The things which are seen, says the Apostle, are πρόσκαιρα, i.e. temporal, but the things which are not seen are αἰώνια, i.e. permanent, abiding. In 2 Cor. v 1 it has much the same meaning and is used of that spiritual body or house (οἰκητήριον) which the Christian hopes to possess when this present body or tent (σκῆνος) is worn out. Three times (Rom. xvi 25, Tit. i 2, Tim. i 9) it is used of χρόνοι. Here it means either 'ancient' as frequently in the LXX, but more probably 'belonging to the sequence of the ages', aeonian. These ages (αἰῶνες) began with the creation. According to a common view there were to be seven of them of 1,000 years each in the world's history. The last being the Millennium.² In Rom. xvi 26, αἰώνιος probably has the meaning of everlasting, but it may mean here, because of its occurrence in xvi 25, the God who rules the ages. In 1 Tim. vi 16 it refers to the everlasting power of the παντοκράτωρ. This use is frequent enough in the LXX. In 2 Thess. ii 16 it is used of παράκλησις, where it evidently means divine or spiritual in contrast to that which is merely human or physical. In Philemon 15 it is used adverbially and means *permanently* or for ever, for no doubt the Apostle regarded the association of Philemon and Onesimus as extending throughout the ages of eternity. Since he left, Onesimus had obtained eternal life, and eternal life involves eternal interchange of friendship.³

This completes our brief survey of the use of the word in the Pauline epistles. It is used in many ways, but there is nothing striking or original in its use by the Apostle.

¹ 'In the whole Pauline section of the N.T. world of ideas, the attribute "eternal" is never applied to the present Christian life.' Grill *Untersuchungen* i p. 323.

² See *Secrets of Enoch*, ed R. H. Charles, p. xxvii.

³ So J. B. Lightfoot *ad loc.*

2 PETER AND JUDE.

In 2 Pet. i 11 the phrase *εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν* occurs, and in Jude 7 we have *πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην* describing the celestial and avenging fire which consumed the Cities of the Plain, 'a sample' (Bigg *ad loc.*) of the fire which shall be the fate of the wicked hereafter. In Jude 21 the familiar phrase *εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* appears. The eschatological purpose of these epistles and the extent to which they shew the influence of apocalyptical writings suggests that the word *αἰώνιος* in them may be not improperly rendered *apocalyptic*.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST JOHN THE DIVINE.

It is something of a surprise to discover that *αἰώνιος* occurs only once in the Apocalypse (xiv 6). This is one of the many facts which render it improbable that the John who wrote this book is the same as the author of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. The word *αἰών*, however, is more frequent in it than in any other New Testament writer. The connexion *εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον* in which *αἰώνιος* occurs is unique and has been productive of all sorts of theories from the days of Origen,¹ who held it to be 'that full disclosure of the purposes of God, which could not be given in the New Testament because of the nature of human language and the limitations of the flesh-bound mind', down to the days of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormons, who discovered it engraven on golden tablets in the State of New York. Undoubtedly the Gospel is, as Dr Swete² points out, 'the Gospel of the Parousia'—the angelic proclamation of the imminent advent of the Christ and of the consummation of the age. In that case the word might well be rendered here, *apocalyptic*.

CONCLUSION.

On looking back at the nineteenth-century controversy over the meaning of *αἰώνιος* perhaps it may be said without presumption that not one of the protagonists was entirely right and yet neither was any one of them entirely wrong. Each saw clearly parts of the correct solution, but owing to their being engaged in a theological controversy rather than in pure philological research, the judgement of each suffered a strong infusion from the will and affections.

Besides the controversial atmosphere there were perhaps two other limitations which affected their conclusions. First, the influence of the current belief in plenary verbal inspiration of the Scripture, even where it was no longer fully accepted, left an unconscious impression that the Bible was one book in two volumes, and that having had but One Author the same word must be used in the same sense throughout.

¹ See *De Princ.* iv 25; *In Ioan.* i 9, 10; *In Rom.* i 4, ii 5; *In Lev. Hom.* xiii 2.

² *Apocalypse of St John* p. 179.

The habit in interpretation of comparing Scripture with Scripture would deepen this impression. The view that each human author of the New Testament might use the word in a different sense in his own contribution to the sacred volume does not seem to have occurred as a possibility, still less as a probability, to any one of the controversialists.

Secondly, none of the controversialists seems to have recognized a doctrinal development within the New Testament itself, and therefore would not be likely to observe a canon of research which all modern Biblical scholars try to obey. This canon is thus laid down by Dr R. H. Charles: 'All scholars with any pretension to thoroughness have already recognized the duty of studying a passage in its textual context ; but very few have seen that it is just as necessary to study it in its historical context, that is, in its rightful place in the development of religious thought.'¹

The observance of this canon of interpretation would have enabled the controversialists to allow *αἰώνιος* its full weight in different documents and so have prevented them from yielding to the natural temptation to strengthen their case by trying to force all its uses into unnatural conformity by spiritualizing it in some contexts or by materializing it or literalizing it in others.

Nevertheless the modern scholar may well be grateful to these scholars of the past for the large amount of data they accumulated and for the acuteness and ingenuity of their reasoning.

As to the problem of the endless torment of sinners, out of which the controversy arose, that must be settled, if settled at all, not by the meaning of the word *αἰώνιος* or of the phrases compounded of *αἰών* in the New Testament, but by our conclusions as to the nature of God, the responsibilities and limitations of free will, and the effects of sin and suffering on human character.

HENRY D. A. MAJOR.

¹ *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish and Christian* (1899) p. vi.

THE TEXT OF PSALM ii 12.

('KISS THE SON' E.V., נשקו בר.)

THE report of the committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to revise the Prayer-Book Psalter contains the following paragraph:

'In Psalm ii 12 the text as it stands in the Hebrew is perhaps not original. The English Primer of 1559 follows the LXX and Vulgate, and renders "get discipline that the Lord be not angry". After much consideration the Committee decided to respect the Hebrew tradition, merely substituting "honour" for "kiss" to clear the sense.'

In a notice of the Revised Psalter (*infra* p. 66) I have briefly discussed this statement. But the matter is of sufficient importance for further consideration. Two questions demand an answer. *First*, Does the external evidence—in this case the evidence of the versions—throw doubt on the Masoretic reading? *Secondly*, If external evidence is wanting, do internal considerations shake our confidence? I have found no sufficient discussion of the passage on these lines in the works of the Commentators.

And *first* as to the evidence of the versions. The renderings given vary greatly. Aquila has καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς (or נִשְׁקוּ = ἐκλεκτόν acc. to Barhebraeus), Symmachus προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς, Jerome (who appeals to Aquila and Symmachus) has given *adore pure* in his version from the Hebrew (*adore filium* in his *Commentarioli*). The Peshitta (in agreement with the last) has *nasshēk bēra* 'kiss the son'. Plainly, none of these translations stands for any other original than נשקו בר. But the LXX has δράσασθε παιδείας, rendered in the Vulgate by *apprehendite disciplinam*, and the Targum the similar (but not identical rendering) קבילו אולפנא. It has been suggested that a different Hebrew text lies behind these last renderings. Only there is little agreement in finding this text. Thus Wellhausen in a note appended to his Critical Text (1895) writes 'What text this (i. e. the rendering of LXX, Targ.) pre-supposes cannot be determined with certainty, perhaps קחו מוסר' (the phrase found in Jer. ii 30 *al.*). A suggestion introduced with *perhaps* must not be severely criticized, but two objections stand against it: (1) בר is an unlikely corruption of מוסר; (2) the LXX rendering of קחו would be δέξασθε not δράσασθε. But Wellhausen in his hasty note has taken no notice of the character of the LXX rendering of 12 a. It is certainly

paraphrastic. Comparing it clause by clause with the English Version, which sticks close to the Hebrew, we get :

LXX
 δράσασθε παιδείας,
 μή ποτε ὀργισθῇ
 [Κύριος]
 καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ
 [δικαίας],
 κτλ

RV = M.T.
 Kiss the son,
 lest he be angry,
 and ye perish in the way,
 &c.

If the LXX is in a mood for paraphrasing in the second and third clauses, may it not be so also in the first? But first it must be said that δράσασθε is in fact a near equivalent of נשקן. The Heb. verb in the Kal means to 'grasp' or 'handle'¹ the bow; 1 Chron. xii 2; 2 Chron. xvii 17; cp. Ps. lxxviii 9 (see *B. D. B.*). Ewald in his *Dichter* (2^{te} Aufl., 1857) understood the verb to mean 'cleave to, adhere to'. He writes, 'נשקן aber drückt eigentlich ein *aneinander heften* oder *hängen lassen* (dann *küssen*) aus, also vom neuen activ (in Piel) kann es sehr wohl ein *anfassen*, *ergreifen* beschreiben. Der Targ. ebenso, wahrscheinlich von der LXX unabhängig, קבילו ואלפנה.' There is certainly nothing in the rendering δράσασθε taken by itself to justify us in supposing that the LXX read some other verb and not נשקן in this passage.

But the complete clause (with παιδείας standing for בר) is no doubt a paraphrase. The LXX might have given παιδίου (or υἱοῦ even) as the object of the verb, but they have contented themselves with a word which recalls בר or בן, but does not translate it; cp. Prov. iv 1 ἀκούσατε, παῖδες (בנים), παιδείαν πατρός. At what seems the climax of the Psalm, they hang back and give the vague rendering, 'Lay hold on instruction', which is no more than an echo of v. 10. 'Kiss the son' was probably too definite a charge to be given in Greek.

This recoil from definiteness is found also in the first half of the Psalm. According to the MT there is a climax in v. 6. It is felt even in the English Version, 'Yet I have set *my king* upon my holy hill of Zion.' A challenge to all the nations lies in this statement. But how do the LXX reproduce it in the international language? ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σειῶν ὅρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ—the arresting word of the challenge, 'king', has vanished.²

¹ Arabic *nasaka*, 'arrange well, string pearls'.

² Wellhausen (rightly) quotes LXX acc. to cod. B, but makes no reference to the absence of βασιλεύς. The word appears in cod. A [N ed. Tischendorf, Petrograd, 1862] and in the Roman and Gallican Psalters, but internal probability is against the addition of βασιλεύς as (1) the fuller reading, and (2) as the reading which agrees with the MT.

Tradition in the Babylonian Talmud (*Megillah*, fol. 9 a b)¹ tells that when Talmi (Ptolemy) the king put the seventy-two elders into seventy-two 'houses' and commanded them to write the law of Moses for him, they agreed through the inspiration of the Holy One (Blessed be he!) to make certain modifications in the text, fifteen in number. One at least was made through fear of the king. In the list of unclean animals the hare (*arnebeth*, Lev. xi 6) appeared, but Talmi's wife being named 'Hare',² they wrote 'the little-footed one' instead, lest the king should say, 'The Jews have mocked me!'

This story in its details is confused and untrustworthy, but its testimony that the Jews of pre-Christian times were afraid of provoking the Gentiles by a too frank translation of the Scriptures is not to be set aside. Many phenomena of the LXX text offer the same testimony, particularly (it may be said) the apparent abbreviation of the text of Isa. ix 6 [5 Heb.].

In the case of Ps. ii 12 it is surely not necessary to seek for another Hebrew reading, for it is the Greek text rather which lies under suspicion. The Septuagint was made in Egypt, and the Egyptian Jews were by no means free from the fear of persecution. Mr C. W. Emmet suggests with good reason that the acts of oppression narrated in 3 Maccabees have a historical foundation, and were not confined to one reign.³ In Egypt the Jewish translators wrote down the generalizing exhortation *δράξασθε παιδείας*, because, I suppose, so pointed a rendering as *καταφύλισατε τὸν υἱόν* might have given an opportunity to the informers of the Ptolemies.

If the LXX had one good reason for resorting to paraphrase, the Targumist had another equally valid.

The Targum on the Psalms was certainly redacted some time after the beginning of the Christian era; some elements in it are late; and some scars of the controversy with Christians are to be found in it. Ps. ii 12 is probably a case in point. Jerome (*Commentarioli in Pss.* ed. Morin, 1895) writes: 'In hebraeo legitur NESCU BAR, quod interpretari potest, Adorate filium. Apertissima itaque de Christo prophetia est, et ordo praecepti: Adorate Filium, ne forte irascatur Dominus, hoc est, Pater.' Thus did St Jerome make a controversial use of the passage. The Targumist replies with a controversial interpretation from the Jewish side. The form which this interpretation would take was imposed upon him by the tendency of Jewish thought and feeling in the early centuries of the Christian era. The expectation of Messiah was dying out in Judaism, and the Rabbith were putting the

¹ And elsewhere.

² An allusion to the first Ptolemy called *Lagi*.

³ *Apocrypha* (ed. R. H. Charles), p. 155.

Law into his place. So if the Christians explained *bar* ('son') of Jesus the Messiah, the prevalent school of Jewish interpretation replied by explaining *bar* ('the pure one') of the Law. Thus in the Midrash Rabba on Numbers (נשא, ch. x § 4)¹ the expositor commenting on the *מה ברי*, *mah bēri* ('What, my son') of Prov. xxxi 2 with its twice repeated *bar* ('son') following, says, 'These (i. e. *bēri*, *bar* and *bar* repeated) are the commands and prohibitions of the Torah, which is called *bar*, even as it saith (Psalm ii), *Kiss Bar* ('the pure one'), lest he be angry &c., for all the words thereof are pure (*bārim*).'² So again in B.T. *Sanhedrin*, fol. 92 a, the expositor commenting on Prov. xi 26, 'He that withholdeth corn (*bar*), the people shall curse him,' says, 'There is no corn (*bar*) but Torah, for it is said (Ps. ii), *Kiss Bar*, lest he be angry.' These two comments are far-fetched, but they combine to prove that *bar* was explained by early Jewish authorities in the sense of teaching (*Torah*). Consequently we must not suppose that the Jewish Targumist had a different reading before him, because he gave the rendering אולפנא. This Aramaic word, though sometimes used in a general sense, is at others specifically applied to the Teaching, i. e. to the *Torah*. 'Receive the Teaching' is simply the precept 'Kiss the pure one' stript of metaphor.

Wellhausen's profession of doubt as to the Hebrew text read by LXX and Targum is in fact rather naive. The *πάσθαι* of LXX suggests נשקו, while the אולפנא of the Targum suggests בר. On the other hand the קבילו of the Targum is at least the most natural paraphrase of נשקו, and the *παίδεας* of LXX in its context throws no doubt whatever on the reading בר. Those who question the correctness of the MT of Ps. ii 12 cannot safely appeal to the support of the Versions.

We have still, however, to consider this Hebrew reading in itself; is it impossible, as Wellhausen (but not Ewald) supposes? The question is best answered by a brief survey of the Psalm as a whole.

And first we notice with all the commentators from Perowne onwards that this Psalm consists of four very clearly marked strophes. The first describes dramatically the nations of the world as in insurrection against *JEHOVAH* and against his Messiah (*vv.* 1-3). The second shews that the hopes of the insurgents have been destroyed by a Divine announcement: 'I have established *my king* upon Zion' (*vv.* 4-6). In the third strophe the king himself takes up the thread by reciting the terms of the Divine decree appointing him king: The nations are (potentially) given into his hand to rule (*vv.* 7-9). In the fourth (and last) strophe, as in the first, the Psalmist speaks in his own person. He begins in *v.* 10 (with an obvious reference to the utterances of *JEHOVAH* and his king)

¹ Vilna edition of the year 638 (short reckoning).

by warning the insurgent kings in general terms: 'Now therefore be wise.' In *v.* 11 he shews what kind of wisdom he desires by definitely exhorting the insurgents to 'serve' (become worshippers of) JEHOVAH. But does the Psalmist define his meaning no further? Surely it would be strange if he did not! He realizes in the Psalm a second person next to JEHOVAH Himself, who is JEHOVAH's Messiah in strophe i, whom JEHOVAH describes as 'my king' in strophe ii, who is introduced speaking with his own mouth in strophe iii. Is it at all probable that this person is not even mentioned in strophe iv? According to the MT as interpreted by the Peshitta, Jerome (*Commentarioli in loco*), and E.V. he is not only mentioned, but he also holds as important a place in strophe iv as in strophes i, ii, and iii.

Cheyne, in the second edition of his *Psalms*, sets aside the evidence of strophes i and ii with the remark, 'It is only the words (his anointed) and (my king) which suggest a reference to a king, and these words are probably corrupt.' Wellhausen, apparently ignoring the structure of the Psalm, is content to declare the words *נשקו בר* corrupt and to omit them from the text. 'It is impossible', he writes 'to translate *kiss the son*, because *son* in Hebrew is not *בר* but *בן* (*v.* 6), and because in *vv.* 11, 12 only JHVH is mentioned.'

The last half of Wellhausen's argument is a *petitio principii* and may safely be set aside, but the first half is worthy of consideration. The phrase *נשקו בר* is not altogether free from difficulty.

The words are in fact ambiguous; both of them may be taken either as Aramaic or as Hebrew. Pronounced *nasshēk bar* they are Aramaic and must be rendered *kiss ye one who is a son*, i. e. as interpreted from the context, 'Make your submission to one whom JEHOVAH has called his son.' Pronounced *nasshēkū bhar* they are Hebrew and are most fitly translated, 'Kiss ye one who is pure' (i. e. one who by his purity has secured the favour of JEHOVAH). The choice between these two explanations is not easy to make, but the result is not of any great importance for the interpretation of the Psalm. The sphere of uncertainty is strictly limited. The symmetry of the strophes demands here a name or an epithet of the person who is called *Messiah* in strophe i, *king* in strophe ii, and *son* in strophe iii. Symmetry demands further a variant from the three epithets already given. So it happens that *בר*, whether it means 'pure one' or 'son' is to be expected here rather than *בן*. The structure of the Psalm is sufficiently regular to give force to this last contention.

The suggestion that the phrase in dispute may be Aramaic will appear bizarre to some readers. The insertion of a scrap of a foreign language may seem to be beneath the dignity of style of such a Psalm as this. And yet all depends on the fitness of the occasion. We do

not consider that the Gospel narrative loses dignity because it gives our Lord's words on some memorable occasions in Aramaic (Mark v 41, xv 34). In the present case of a Psalm which begins with an address to the nations it seems quite suitable at the climax in *vv.* 11, 12 to use two words of the international language. It deepens the impression of the summons.

Moreover, the particular verb used here—the verb which so many textual critics wish to get rid of—is particularly suitable, if the Psalmist is calling on the nations to *submit*. The Assyrian kings had made the phrase, 'He (They) kissed my feet', a household word in Western Asia.¹

'u-na-aš-ši-ku šīpt-ya'

So common indeed is it that it is easy to understand that the Psalmist would use (as certain to be understood) the shortened form without anything corresponding to *šīpt-ya*, 'my feet.' It is indeed difficult to understand how exegetes can busy themselves to set aside so *inevitable* (I use the word advisedly) a conclusion to this Psalm as,

Become servants to JEHOVAH:

Kiss one who is as a son to Him (*or* one who is pure).

The explanation lies perhaps partly in the feeling that the expositors who follow the Peshitta and Jerome (*Commentarioli*) have unduly strained the word *bar*, giving it the sense 'son' in order to uphold the Messianic interpretation of this verse.

Yet, if both words be Aramaic, the obvious rendering is, 'Kiss a (the) son!' Again, if both words be Hebrew, 'Kiss one who is pure' is a quite unforced translation of them. No objection can be based on the absence of the article before *bar*, if *bar* be Hebrew. One of the linguistic features of this Psalm (as of many others) is the very sparing use of the Hebrew definite article. Whether the words be Aramaic or Hebrew they stand confirmed by dictionary and by grammar.

W. EMERY BARNES.

¹ Cyrus, too, has it on his *Clay Cylinder*, l. 37.

THE DEATH OF JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE.

IN his Note on 'John of Ephesus'¹ Dr Swete, after remarking on the statement attributed to Papias by Philip of Side and Georgius Hamartolus, goes on to observe: 'It is certainly strange that early Christian tradition is without a vestige of any other reference to the martyrdom of the Apostle John.'

I venture to ask: Is there really no such vestige? No sooner had I read the sentence than my mind reverted to certain references to which my attention had been originally directed by an article from the pen of Bousset which appeared not far short of a dozen years ago.² They were subsequently incorporated by me in a paper which later on assumed printed form³; let me now adduce them⁴ with all possible brevity and some repetition of my own words.

i. Clement of Alexandria. Here the question is of a citation⁵ from Heracleon which expressly mentions some who had not sealed their faith with their deaths: ἐξ ὧν Ματθαῖος, Φίλιππος, Θωμᾶς, Λευὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. The point, of course, is the explicit denial of martyrdom in a context from which the name of the Apostle John is absent—he is surely not relegated to the 'many others'—and that Clement, it would appear, raises no demur.

ii. The Martyrdom of Andrew.⁶ As a tale therein told runs, the Apostles meet in conclave at Jerusalem: 'Wherefore do we delay', asks Peter, 'to enter upon our work?'; thereupon lots are cast and respective mission-fields assigned; we read καὶ ἐκληρώθη Πέτρος τὴν περιτομήν· Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης τὴν ἀνατολήν· Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις τῆς Σαμαρίας καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν κτλ. That we are here in the region of pure legend is obvious; as by Gaius,⁷ so here, Philip the Evangelist is confused with the Apostle Philip; the words τὴν ἀνατολήν nevertheless give one

¹ *J. T. S.* xvii p. 378.

² *Theol. Rundschau* 1905 pp. 225 ff.

³ The paper was read before the Cambridge Theological Society and (in somewhat modified form) the Oxford Society of Historical Theology; it appears in the Proceedings of the latter Society for the year 1912-1913.

⁴ Three of them have, I think, received the attention of English scholars; all have been recently discussed by Clemen (*Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums* pp. 442 ff.).

⁵ *Strom.* iv 9.

⁶ Bonnet *Acta Apost. Apocr.* ii i pp. 46 f.

⁷ Euseb. *H. E.* iii 31.

pause. They are not exactly suggestive of a departure to and prolonged residence in Asia Minor in the case of John the brother of James.

iii. The Syriac Martyrology. Here there stands as follows :

Dec. 27. Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις

„ 28. Ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ πόλει Παῦλος καὶ Συμεὼν Κηφᾶς ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

We have here, as elsewhere (so Achelis¹), the popular tradition of a Church—Edessa ; also Nicomedia²—in regard to martyrs. The tradition is well founded in the case of Paul and Peter ; may it not equally hold true in the case of both the sons of Zebedee ? It would not necessarily follow (again I quote from Achelis) that, because coupled together in the Martyrology, the two brothers actually suffered at the same place and date.

iv. Aphrahat. In his homily *De Persecutione*³ (dated A.D. 343 or 344) Aphrahat speaks to the following effect :

‘Great and excellent is the martyrdom of Jesus . . . To Him followed the faithful martyr Stephen whom the Jews stoned. Simon also and Paul were perfect martyrs. James and John trod in the footsteps of their Master Christ. Also (others) of the Apostles thereafter in divers places confessed and proved themselves true martyrs.’

Inasmuch as Aphrahat, not confining himself to those who had actually yielded up their lives, makes room for others who had only endured hardship, the question might arise whether—in an allusion which is, it may be, ‘etwas vag’⁴—the Apostle John be not simply accorded martyr-rank. Yet the context points the other way about, while the closing words of the passage lend themselves to the conjecture that he died, by martyrdom, a relatively early death.

Of such sort are the four references in question. Weighed in the balances of critical investigation they might severally invite suspicion ; I myself should be inclined to differentiate between them and to regard the last two as the more deserving of serious consideration. But I submit that their cumulative effect is to awaken grave doubt as to the traditional Ephesian residence and peaceful death in extreme old age of the Apostle John. They account, it may be, for the otherwise incomprehensible silence of Ignatius. They certainly incline one to attach credence to the statement attributed to Papias—a statement which the

¹ *Die Martyrologien*, in *Abhandlungen* &c. pp. 58 ff.

² The Syriac Martyrology, drawn up A. D. 411 at Edessa for the use of the local church, is based on an ‘Ur-Martyrolog’ which Duchesne locates at Nicomedia.

³ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* xiii pp. 158, 401 ; *Texte u. Untersuchungen* iii pp. 329 ff.

⁴ *Erbes Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* xxxiii ii p. 202.

recorded words of Jesus (Mk. x 35 ff) to the two sons of Zebedee may well prepare us to expect. The fact must, at all events, be reckoned with that, in the fourth century, both in Asia Minor and in the further East, a tradition persisted that John the Apostle and brother of James had actually died a martyr's death.

Dr Swete, I observe, again¹ tells us that it is not easy to doubt that Papias did make some such statement as that attributed to him; and I remark further, to my own personal satisfaction, that he (Dr Swete), unable to find 'any convincing proof of the identity of the Apostle John with John of Ephesus', is indisposed to identify the former with the Beloved Disciple.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

WAS JUDAS ISCARIOT 'THE FIRST OF THE TWELVE'?

BIBLICAL students must thank Dr Swete for his luminous articles on the burning questions of 'The Disciple whom Jesus loved' and of 'John of Ephesus', in the July number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*.

There is one matter, however, in which I think he follows traditional assumptions—a fault to which he is not prone—too far, I mean, in the relative position of Simon Peter and Judas Iscariot during our Lord's ministry. There is no doubt that after the Crucifixion, when Judas disappeared from the number of the Twelve, Peter became leader. There is reason to think that before the Crucifixion Judas had been the leader, for he held the bag, the symbol of authority. Peter meanwhile had occupied a subordinate place, but by force of character and by spiritual apprehension was shewing himself to be first.

It may well be that when our Lord after His Resurrection appeared to Peter, it was to instal him in his office and to breathe into him the Spirit for the accomplishment of the transcendent work. 'The first will be last and the last first' would then be fulfilled.

The disciples had disputed among themselves which was the greatest. Judas had long been losing ground, Peter had been gaining ground. His Confession had confirmed him in the honour which our Lord had put upon him, when He invited Peter to accompany Him at the death of the daughter of Jairus, at the Transfiguration, and (afterwards) at Gethsemane. A coterie—as I suppose—wanted to take the bag from

¹ Cf. *The Apocalypse of St John* p. 175.

Judas and give it to Peter, that Peter might become the acknowledged leader, as he already was in practice. But it was our Lord's rule to 'let both grow together till the harvest'. It would destroy Judas's last chance of repentance if he were disgraced. And it would be ill for the future of the Church if every suspected officer were at once ejected.

On this supposition the warning addressed to the Twelve, 'He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much, and he that is unjust in that which is least is unjust also in much', would be specially meant for Judas, and would appeal powerfully to his conscience.

In the Last Supper Dr Swete argues convincingly that the Disciples sat in their usual order of precedence. But what was that order? Dr Swete puts Peter next to our Lord, but Mr E. J. Lewis in his picture of the Last Supper has put Judas on one side of our Lord and John on the other. To me it seems certain that this position explains what followed, while the traditional view does not. Peter, being out of our Lord's reach for a whisper, beckons to John to ask. John leans back to catch our Lord's ear, who whispers in reply. Iscariot whispers into the other ear 'Is it I'? None of them could have spoken out aloud, but if we admit the whispers all is plain.

Finally in Mark xiv 10 Judas is called $\delta \epsilon \iota \varsigma \tau \omega \nu \delta \omega \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha$, which seems evidently to mean 'the first' or 'the chief' of the Twelve, $\delta \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ being Hellenistic Greek for $\delta \pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \varsigma$. I have long held this view and have not been satisfied with what Dr Swete in his commentary on St Mark writes about it to the contrary. I am glad to have the support of Dr Moulton who writes in the *Expositor* (1903) VI, vii 111: 'The difficult article which Swete notes must be explained in the same way (as an invasion of the ordinals upon the cardinals). It is hardly possible to apply (to the papyri) either of the interpretations given in his note, certainly not the second, by which $\delta \epsilon \iota \varsigma = \epsilon \iota \varsigma \omega \nu$ '.

Dr Moulton in his *Grammar of N. T. Greek* p. 96 argues that the ordinals began to oust the cardinals at least in the Byzantine period. The invasion began in the case of 'one', and was continued in 'five' and afterwards, till the cardinals disappeared.

Cardinals were luxuries, and luxuries cannot hold their ground in languages. They sooner or later fall out of use. In Modern Greek the cardinals have disappeared after 'five'. 'Ο $\epsilon \iota \varsigma$ and $\delta \pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \varsigma$ would both be written as $\delta \cdot \bar{a} \cdot$ in brief. So $\tau \eta \mu \acute{\iota} \alpha \tau \omega \nu \sigma \alpha \beta \beta \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ became common. That it was recognized as a vulgarism is shewn by the fact that pseudo-Mark alters it to $\pi \rho \acute{\omega} \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \beta \beta \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$. On the other hand, $\tau \eta \delta \upsilon \circ$, $\tau \eta \tau \rho \epsilon \iota \varsigma$, and $\tau \eta \tau \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \sigma \alpha \rho \epsilon \varsigma$ were grammatically impossible, but in and after 'five' the ordinals are indeclinable, and so encroach on the cardinals. Dr Moulton points out that even in English we can say 'page forty'.

I press for this meaning of ὁ εἶς, believing it to be the simplest and best. And if it restores to Judas the place from which 'he by transgression fell', we must see in it the method of divine working. This interpretation also gives force and meaning to several other passages, as I have shewn.

A. WRIGHT.

'BLESSED ARE THE POOR IN SPIRIT', MATT. v 3;
cf. LUKE vi 20.

IN the *Expositor* of July 1916 Dr Selwyn maintains that the first Beatitude should read '*Blessed are the poor, by the spirit*', i. e. '*Blessed are the poor—even so saith the spirit*'.

This interpretation is based, partly upon linguistic, partly upon exegetical, considerations. Let us examine each in turn.

First, then, he contends that οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι cannot mean *the spiritually poor*, because that would be οἱ πνεύματι πτωχοί. This would seem to be one of the many instances of a critic being misled by applying to the language of the N. T. the canons of classical Greek. Just below in v. 8 we have Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ. No one can doubt that this is correctly rendered '*Blessed are the pure in heart*', and could not mean '*Blessed are the pure, by the heart*'. If further instances were needed, we have Acts xviii 25 ζέων τῷ πνεύματι, *fervent in spirit*, 1 Cor. vii 34 ἁγία καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, *holy both in body and in spirit*, and closest of all Matt. xi 29 πραὺς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, *I am meek and humble-minded*. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that the rendering *Blessed are the poor in spirit* is quite in accordance with Hellenistic usage.

Passing to the second argument, Dr Selwyn interprets *poor in spirit* to mean *beggarly in spirit*, and rejects this (rightly enough) as 'an unworthy travesty'. He then seeks (again rightly) for a parallel passage in the O. T., and finds it in Isa. lxi 1 Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ ἐνεκεν ἔχρισέ με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς . . . , upon which he bases his interpretation above quoted.

The parallel, however, does not seem very close, nor the conclusion drawn from it at all convincing.

The first point to determine is the meaning of πτωχός, as used in the LXX.

Prof. Driver¹ tells us that the Hebrew word most commonly rendered by *πτωχός* means literally 'humbled, especially by oppression', that it is closely akin to the adjective usually translated in A. V. and R. V. 'meek',² and to the substantive 'affliction'.³ He adds (s.v. *poor*): 'The idea of *humbled* or *afflicted* must always have been felt to be present in the word; and sometimes it seems to predominate so much that it has been so rendered: see Ps. xviii 27, xxii 24, xxv 16, lxxxviii 15, &c.'

As this term is constantly used, especially in the Psalms, to designate the true servants of Jehovah, it acquired the wider connotation of '*pious*';⁴ and then because most of the 'humbled and oppressed' would naturally belong to the poorer classes, the conception of 'poverty' in our sense of the term became attached to it also; but this extension of signification seems to have been incidental in origin and seldom becomes the dominant idea in its use.⁵ This is further shewn by the fact that the same Hebrew word is sometimes rendered in the LXX by *πτωχός*, sometimes by *ταπεινός*; cf. Ps. ix 18 and xvii 27. Bearing this in mind, let us turn to Ps. xxxiv 18 (xxxiii 19 LXX), ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς συντρυμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τῷ πνεύματι σώσει, rendered by Driver *The Lord is nigh unto the broken in heart; and he saveth them that are crushed in spirit*. This seems to give the key to the passage in question and provides a simple explanation of the discrepancy between Matt. v 3 and Luke vi 20. The latter, with his Gentile associations, naturally enough interpreted the ambiguous term translated 'poor' as referring to poverty in worldly goods, and so placed in contrast to it '*Woe unto you that are rich*', v. 24. St Matthew, the Jew, understood it in the sense of the Psalms, and to make the meaning clear added τῷ πνεύματι.

That this is a true interpretation there can be little doubt. At the very beginning of his address our Lord strikes the note of encouragement which is so conspicuous throughout the N. T., e. g. *In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world*, John xvi 33. His words in this Beatitude and in the very close parallel of v. 10 bear an even richer promise; afflicted, heart-broken, persecuted, his disciples might sometimes be, but they must not despair, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

A. SLOMAN.

¹ See notes in the 'Parallel Psalter' upon '*poor, humble, and needy*' (Glossary I), also Allen's note on Matt. v 3 in the International Critical Commentary.

² e. g. Ps. xxii 26, xxv 9, xxxvii 11, lxxvi 9, cxlvii 6, cxlix 4.

³ e. g. Ps. xxv 18, xlii 24, cvii 41, &c.

⁴ e. g. Ps. xxxiv 6, xxxv 10, xl 17, lxviii 10, lxxii 12, lxxxvi 1, 2, &c.

⁵ This is indicated by the frequent conjunction of *poor* and *needy*, e. g. Ps. xxxv 10, xxxvii 14, xl 17, lxx 5, lxxii 4, 12, 13, &c.

THE SYRIAN CAMPAIGN OF NECHO II.

NECHO II came to the throne of Egypt in 609 B. C. His father, Psammeticus I, when Prince of Sais, had been chosen by Ashur-banipal from amongst the many petty sovereigns of Egypt to be ruler of the whole land. The position of Psammeticus was one of peculiar difficulty, for not only was his country exposed to invasion from the Ethiopians without, but he had also much to fear from the jealousy of the rivals whose rights had been traversed by his elevation. So long as Ashur-banipal was alive, however, the presence of Assyrian troops in Egypt enabled him to maintain himself in safety, and indeed to extend and consolidate his power. In 626 Ashur-banipal died and a period of disruption seems to have fallen upon the Assyrian Empire, and though no internal records have survived, yet the history of the surrounding nations is enough to shew that a serious weakening of the central authority took place at this time. Psammeticus apparently had both the means and the ability to take advantage of the situation: he refused the annual tribute to Assyria and entered into an alliance with Gyges, King of Lydia. It was probably from this ally that he obtained those supplies of Carian and Ionian mercenaries which enabled him, after the retirement of the Assyrians from Egypt, to make absolute his supremacy over the other native rulers.¹

Towards the end of his reign the country was again threatened with invasion, this time from a new enemy. The Scythians, having defeated the Medes, just when the latter were about to capture Nineveh and so to become masters of Asia, overran Mesopotamia and extended their ravages as far as the Egyptian border. By some means or other they were persuaded to depart, leaving Egypt unharmed, probably, as Herodotus tells us (i 105), by means of a large bribe, or possibly because the Egyptian frontier was strongly held.² Psammeticus seems to have been a vigorous and a tactful ruler, and he succeeded in giving some measure of cohesion and stability to his dominions. At the same time he devoted great efforts towards increasing the numbers and efficiency

¹ Herodotus (ii 152-157) gives a very wonderful account of the early life of Psammeticus and the means whereby he acquired the supreme power in Egypt. For fuller details concerning the coming of Greek mercenaries into Egypt, an event which had far-reaching consequences, see Mallet *Les Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte*.

² *Enc. Bib.* 2611.

of the army, which was at once the symbol and the safeguard of the political unity of the Egyptian empire. Thus when Necho II came to the throne he found himself ruler over a kingdom which was just beginning to realize its restored unity, and in possession of a highly organized army prepared and anxious to take its part as an effective weapon in either offensive or defensive warfare.¹

Meanwhile the Assyrian power had been rapidly decaying; twice the Medes had apparently had Nineveh at their mercy and it had been denied them: first, when their king Phraortes, after conquering the Persians, had been himself defeated and slain in battle; and next when the sudden incursion of the Scythians had robbed his son Cyaxeres of what appeared to be an easy conquest. Eventually Cyaxeres, after a period of nearly thirty years of patient waiting, treacherously got the Scythian leaders into his power and murdered them; he then attacked Nineveh once more, this time in alliance with Nabopolassar, who had seized Babylon on the death of Ashur-banipal. Such was the state of affairs amidst which Necho found himself soon after his accession; the whole of Mesopotamia in a ferment, the central power tottering to its fall, and the various nations engaged in internecine warfare. To a young and ambitious ruler, possessed of a well-trained though untried army, the opportunity was one which could not be allowed to pass unutilized. Just as his predecessor Thotmes III had followed the retreating Hittites and succeeded in conquering the whole of Syria, so did Necho advance over territory devastated and weakened not so very long before by the Scythian hordes.

Herodotus gives a succinct account of the preliminary stages of the campaign which followed. After describing Necho's various engineering undertakings he continues as follows: *πανσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκὼς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορρῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, τῶν ἐπὶ οἱ ὄλκοι ἐπίδηλοι καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι, καὶ Σύριοισι περὶ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδῶλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτι πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εὐῶσαν μεγάλην εἶλε.*² I do not propose to give a complete and detailed outline of the whole expedition and of the Battle at Carchemish which decided its issue; such a narrative would require too much space; but to take a few disputed points in the account which are of importance for students of the Old Testament. These points may be summarized as follows:

(1) Did Necho invade Palestine by sea, or by land?

¹ History furnishes many examples of sons gathering the fruits of the military preparations of their fathers: perhaps the most striking cases are those of Alexander the Great, and in more modern times Frederick II of Prussia.

² ii 159.

(2) Is the *Μαγδάλω* of Herodotus to be identified with the Megiddo of 2 Kings xxiii 28 ff?

(3) Who were Necho's opponents in the battle?

(4) Is it necessary to see in *Κάδυστιν* a reference to the fall of Gaza mentioned in Jer. xlvii 1, and at what stage of the campaign did Gaza fall?

(1) The natural way by which an army from Egypt would invade Palestine is by marching across the sandy deserts which lie between the two countries and striking the coast road near Gaza. In the opinion of nearly all scholars such was the route which Necho adopted.¹ Cheyne, however, laying stress on the connexion of 'military affairs' and 'shipping' in the description of Herodotus, has put forward the suggestion that 'to avoid hostilities with Josiah, Necho took his troops by sea to some landing-place north of Judah proper—say to Dor, an ancient and famous port . . . From Dor . . . to Megiddo in the great plain of Jezreel was no great distance; Duru (Dor) and Magidu or Magadu (Megiddo) are in fact mentioned together in the Assyrian inscriptions'.² The difficulty of successfully carrying out such a feat makes it seem almost impossible, though it was accomplished in later times by Vespasian, and Necho's sailors had no mean reputation in the ancient world for their skill and daring.³ Again, the motive of not wishing to offend Josiah seems hardly sufficient to account for Necho's supposed conduct, though there are other traces, of rather questionable value, of his having wished to avoid any encounter with him.⁴ Again, unless Necho was quite certain of the good faith of the Philistine cities—and if he was, what need was there for him to choose the hazardous sea-route—the line of his retreat by land would be endangered. These reasons alone seem to supply sufficient grounds for rejecting Cheyne's suggestion, but G. A. Smith has brought the further objection against it that Necho's natural landing-place would be not Dor but Acco; in which case he would have advanced straight towards Northern Syria without going

¹ Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* says that Herod. ii 159 'distinctly' states that Necho took the land route. This is to read too much into *πρὸς τὴν γῆν*, which merely states that the encounter itself occurred on land, without any reference at all to the routes by which the combatants approached each other.

² *Life and Times of Jeremiah*, p. 96. Cheyne maintains the same position in his article in *Enc. Bib.* 2611, and he has received some support from Hugo Winckler *Gesch. Isr.* i 103, note 2.

³ Herodotus refers to their having sailed round Africa (iv 42). Some scholars reject this narrative, e.g. H. Berger *Erdkunde der Griechen* i 37-40. Maspero thinks that the record of the change in the position of the sun which neither Herodotus nor his authorities understood makes it 'impossible to reject the tradition until we have more decided grounds for so doing'. *Op. cit.* p. 533.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxv 20-22 (the genuineness of which Maspero accepts, *op. cit.* p. 513) and 1 Esd. i 28.

near Megiddo.¹ This objection in itself is not insuperable, as Dor was an important port and probably large enough to receive the fleet and army of Necho,² and circumstances might render it advisable for him to make the sea-voyage as short as possible. The theory that the invasion took place from the sea has the advantage of offering an easy explanation for the scene of the battle with Josiah, who, on any other hypothesis, must have delayed his attack until the Egyptians had made considerable progress on their march. Hugo Winckler, a critic who rejects the Biblical account as usually interpreted, seems to think that a battle at Megiddo demands a landing from the sea.³ This argument is, however, not sufficiently strong seriously to challenge the generally accepted theory that Necho pursued the usual coast road from Gaza to Megiddo. It is true that this theory is not without its difficulties; some of them have been referred to above, but I hope to shew in the following pages that satisfactory explanations can be found for them, or at the least that they are less than those involved in any other theory.

(2) According to the statement of Herodotus quoted above, Necho fought a battle against the Syrians ἐν Μαγδάλῳ. Is the combat there referred to the same as the encounter between Necho and Josiah at Megiddo mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii 28 ff? Leaving aside for the moment the question of what Herodotus meant by Σύριοισι, I propose to consider various objections which have been brought against the identification by many recent scholars.

At first sight the fact that the scene of the battle is described by different names in the Greek and Hebrew records seems an argument in favour of two distinct events.⁴ But Herodotus is doubtless describing the battle by the name in use amongst the Egyptians, which might easily be different from that given to it by the Israelites.⁵ Cheyne, who

¹ *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 405.

² For a description of Dor and its importance see Schürer *Jewish People, &c.* (E.T.) II i 87-90.

³ *Geschichte Israels* i p. 103, note 2. 'Nach Herodot fand die Schlacht bei Magdalos (Migdal) an der ägyptischen Grenze statt, der Bibel nach bei Megiddo. Letzteres ergiebt eine kaum anzunehmende Situation . . . Necho sei zu Schiffe gekommen.'

⁴ Winckler (*op. cit.* i 104) thinks that the two accounts describe the same battle and that מַגְדָּל is a wrong reading for מַגְדוֹ. Josephus (*Ant.* x v 1) seems to suggest a third name Μένδη (*v. l.* Μήδη), but this is obviously due to reading מגדו as מגד, and therefore his reading really supports the Massoretic text.

⁵ Modern history furnishes an exact parallel in the battle which English-speaking people call Waterloo, but which is known to the French as St Jean. The actual encounter took place on the heights of St Jean, hence the French name is the more accurate, Waterloo being the headquarters of the Duke of Wellington, distant some four miles from the battlefield itself.

appears to have accepted the identification of the two descriptions, has already suggested that the proximity of Mujêdil in the northern part of Esdraelon may have suggested the name used by Herodotus.¹

Herodotus is not an authority upon whom complete reliance can always be placed for evidence as to details like names and places; he was much too ready to accept and to hand on whatever his informants chose to tell him. In the case here under consideration, however, there are reasons for supposing that he based his statements upon sources which are of high value. Alfred Wiedemann, for example, thinks that he got his information from Hecataeus of Miletus²; if this is so, the statement is probably founded on a first-hand authority, for Hecataeus himself is believed to have derived his account from Necho's own inscription in the temple of Branchidae.³

The writer who has summed up most effectively the arguments against Megiddo as a suitable scene for the battle is Hugo Winckler.⁴ He points out that (a) it is hardly likely that Necho would have left his communications exposed to an attack by Josiah; (b) Megiddo was outside the dominions of Josiah; and (c) Herodotus states that Gaza was taken after the battle, which does not fit in with the valley of Megiddo as the place where it was fought. Those who question the accuracy of the account in Kings put forward various suggestions. W. Max Müller's opinion is that the scene of the battle was one of the many Palestinian Migdols,⁵ and in this opinion he is supported by Reinach,⁶ who would place it at one of the Migdols near Ascalon, which would be within easy reach of Gaza. Other writers are still more definite, one might almost say more daring, in their suggestions. Gutschmid, in commenting on Joseph. *c. Apion.* i 19, advances the theory that the battle took place on the Syro-Egyptian frontier,⁷ and Winckler would identify the scene with the Migdol some dozen miles south of Pelusium which is mentioned in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets.⁸

¹ *Enc. Bib.* 2611.

² *Herodots Zweites Buch* pp. 567 f 'Die ganze Notiz hat Herodot wohl dem Hekataios entlehnt'.

³ Cf. Th. Reinach *La Bataille de Mageddo et la chute de Ninive*, p. 4.

⁴ *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyrien* p. 310, and *Geschichte Israels* i p. 103; cf. also the article by W. Max Müller *Die Schlacht zwischen Necho und Josia in Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, pp. 160-164.

⁵ *Enc. Bib.* 1246.

⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 4 f.

⁷ *Kleine Schriften* iv p. 497.

⁸ This suggestion is put forward with a certain amount of hesitation in *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* p. 310, but more confidently in *Gesch. Isr.* i p. 103. Its difficulties are recognized by Max Müller *Die Schlacht, &c.*, pp. 160 ff, and the recent failures of the Turkish attempts to attack the Suez Canal provide a valuable testimony to the difficulties of the enterprise.

This would mean that Josiah was the aggressor and had actually invaded Egypt.

In reply to (a) it may be urged that Necho had every reason for making his advance as rapid as possible, and could hardly afford to wait till he had reduced all the various smaller nations of Palestine; from its very nature his policy involved a certain amount of risk. On the other hand he had a right, as the potential deliverer from the 'grievous yoke' of Assyria, to expect at least a 'benevolent neutrality'; also, there can be little doubt that he had his agents in every court in Syria and a pro-Egyptian party ready to support them. In the case of Josiah it is quite possible that he imagined that the Jewish monarch had been secured,¹ and for the rest Necho probably relied on the timidity and disunion of the Syrian nations to prevent action on the part of any who might wish to be hostile to him. As regards (b) no serious objection to Megiddo on account of its being outside Josiah's territory need be considered. It is true that Judah was not actually in danger of invasion at the moment, but, as the military history of the Hebrew kingdoms clearly shews, the possessor of the valley of Jezreel could pour troops into the heart of Israel. Megiddo would therefore be an important position in the eyes of Josiah whatever other motives there might be which urged him to engage Necho. Winckler lays stress on the fact that Samaria was an Assyrian province and that Josiah's action would be an invasion.² It is possible, however, that Josiah was acting as the vassal of Assyria; in any case, as he was opposing the enemy of Assyria he would have a perfectly adequate excuse for his action. The consideration of (c) I leave for the present.³

The objections of Winckler and other critics are by no means insuperable, and the alternative suggestions put forward by them do not make the situation any clearer. There would seem, therefore, to be room for a consideration of the arguments in favour of Megiddo as the site of the engagement. Leaving on one side its suitability in case of a landing from the sea, as not being of sufficient probability to form the basis of an argument, Megiddo is the natural place at which an army would be gathered in an endeavour to stop an enemy advancing from the South and West. It occupies an important position commanding the highway which leads from the Northern coast road towards the Jordan valley and Damascus with Mesopotamia beyond.⁴ It had been the scene of the great victory of Thotmes III over the allied nations

¹ So Maspero thinks (*The Passing of the Empires* p. 513).

² 'Auch müsste Josia, wenn er ihm (Necho) bei Megiddo entgegentrat, das ganze Gebiet der assyrischen Provinz Samaria besessen haben.' *Gesch. Isr.* i 103.

³ See pp. 9 f.

⁴ Cf. G. A. Smith *Hist. Geog.* p. 389.

who opposed him, and countless other struggles were yet to be decided on the same spot.¹ Had Josiah wished to oppose Necho earlier in his march he could not have found a position more favourable,² and it is exceedingly likely that such an endeavour would have been defeated by the rapidity of the Egyptian advance. On the other hand, if he wished to join with Palestinian allies Megiddo would be an exceedingly convenient mustering-place.³ In further support of the suggestion made above⁴ that *Μαγδώλη* and Megiddo are different names for the same battle, it may be pointed out that the name Megiddo need not be limited to the town of that name, but is sometimes applied to the whole valley. The town itself is usually identified with Lejjun, though there is some dispute about this,⁵ and the actual fighting may have spread over many miles of country as was so often the case in similar warfare.⁶ Further light is perhaps thrown on this suggestion by the reference in Zech. xii 11 to 'the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo' which Rashi and other Jewish commentators apply to Josiah's death,⁷ though the Targum says that Hadadrimmon was the name of the man who killed Ahab.⁸ Hadadrimmon has been identified with Rummaneh near to Lejjun,⁹ and if this identification is correct the Jewish tradition places the death of Josiah in the valley of Megiddo,¹⁰

¹ Cf. G. A. Smith *op. cit.* pp. 406 ff.

² Cf. C. W. Wilson *H. D. B.* iii 334: 'Legio . . . occupied an important position on the road from Bethshean and Jezreel to the coast, and guarded the North end of the pass over the ridge of Carmel, which forms the easiest line of communication between the plain of Sharon and that of Esdraelon. Through this pass ran the great road from Egypt to the North, along which invading armies have marched from the time of Thotmes III to that of Napoleon. It was apparently during the passage of the defile that Josiah's hillman attacked the army of Necho, hoping to obtain an easy victory over soldiers trained on the plains of Egypt.' G. A. Smith says 'it (Megiddo) is the first strait on the land-road from Egypt to the Euphrates'. *Twelve Proph.* ii 27.

³ For the consideration of the question of Josiah's allies see *infra* pp. 43 f, and cf. W. Max Müller: 'Als der Pharao in Philistää erscheint werden die Vasallenfürsten rasch zum Heeresvolk aufgefördert; natürlich müssen sie sich nördlich vom Karmel stellen, für einen südlichen Sammelplatz ist es zu spät.' *Op. cit.* p. 163.

⁴ pp. 39 f.

⁵ So Robinson *Bib. Res. in Pal.* ii 328 ff, followed by G. A. Smith *op. cit.* pp. 386 f, Dillmann (on Jos. xii 21), Moore *Judges* pp. 45-57, Buhl *Geog. des alten Pal.* p. 209, &c.

⁶ Cf. *Judges* vii 22 ff, &c.

⁷ וכמספרא דיאשיתו בר אמון דקטל יתיה פרעה.

⁸ כְּמִסְפָּרָא דְאַחָאב בְּרַ עֲמִירִי דִּי קָטַל יִתְיָה הִרְרִימוֹן.

⁹ G. A. Smith *op. cit.* p. 389, and cf. Van de Velde (*Travels* i 355) who says that it was 3/4 hour to the south.

¹⁰ Rashi says בבקעת מנידו.

but at some distance from the town. This tradition receives some support from St Jerome, who says that Josiah was wounded at 'a city near Jezreel, now called Maximianopolis in the plain of Megiddon'; this city was seventeen miles from Caesarea, ten from Esdraelon. St Jerome gives no source for his statement, as Nowack has pointed out,¹ and his use of geographical terms is not always constant,² but doubtless he reflects the current opinion of the time.

(3) Herodotus tells us that Necho fought against the Σύριοι; the O. T. account, however, makes no mention of any participators in the battle except Necho and Josiah. The two accounts are by no means inconsistent, for the Egyptians would not be at pains to distinguish one Palestinian tribe from another, or from the rest of the Syrians. At the same time there does seem to be a great probability that Josiah did not stand alone on the fatal day when he ventured to oppose the progress of the Egyptian armies. It may well have been that in the elevation of religious feeling and trusting in Jehovah, whose worship he had restored and purified, Josiah staked his kingdom and his life on a divine interposition which would turn the battle in his favour even in the face of hopeless odds.³ He may have had material conceptions of Jehovah's treatment of His worshippers and imagined that a restoration of the primitive purity of the Temple worship and devotion would be followed by a restoration of the primitive boundaries of the Hebrew monarchy. To defeat Necho would be a necessary and preliminary step towards the recovery of all the territory 'from the river of Egypt to the great river'.⁴

Such a theory is quite possible, but it seems much more likely that the nations of Syria allied themselves together, either on their own account or as vassals of Assyria, and joined battle with the Egyptians.⁵ It is true that there is no trace of any such alliance in the O. T., but the peculiar outlook of the Jews on the events of history must be remembered; occurrences were only of value in so far as they had a religious significance, hence the summary record of the reign of Omri, the most influential and important of all the kings of Israel, and the total

¹ *Die kleinen Propheten* pp. 410 f.

² He speaks of the plains of Megiddo (in *Pilgrimage of St Paula* iv), but of Campus Legionis in the *Onomasticon* (see G. A. Smith *Hist. Geog.* p. 386).

³ Cf. Peters *Religion of the Hebrews* pp. 130, 266 f, G. A. Smith *Twelve Proph.* ii 27, and Peake *H. D. B.* ii 789.

⁴ A. B. Davidson says that Josiah 'was not inclined to allow Egypt to cross his aspirations and rob him of the inheritance which was falling to him from the dead hand of Assyria' (*The Exile and the Restoration* p. 8). Rogers thinks that Josiah's religious policy must have estranged the neighbouring countries and made alliance impossible, *Hist. Bab. and Ass.* ii 311.

⁵ So W. Max Müller *Enc. Bib.* 1246, Cheyne *Enc. Bib.* 2611.

omission of any reference to the battle of Karkar. Megiddo is only mentioned, one might venture to say, because it was the scene of Josiah's death and because it brought Judah under Egyptian rule; the fact that other nations took part in the battle and were involved in the same fate would have no interest for a Jewish writer.

(4) The prophecy against the Philistines in Jer. xlvii threatening them with destruction from a rising up of 'waters' 'out of the north' is headed 'before that Pharaoh took Gaza'. What is the value of this heading and to what does it refer? It must be confessed that no one reading the passage, apart from its heading, would readily connect it with an attack by the Egyptians, it seems to refer so obviously to the coming of the Babylonians. Further LXX omits all reference to Pharaoh, having simply the heading 'against the Philistines'. Some critics look upon this reading as being the original, and consider that the present text is due to a very late interpolation. It is difficult, however, to account for such an interpolation, and the omission by LXX might be due to the translator's having noticed the inconsistency between the original heading and v. 2. Perhaps the theory which best accounts for the facts is to suppose that there was a capture of Gaza by one of the Pharaohs about the time of Jeremiah's prophecy to which it was thought to apply, and accordingly when the prophet's works were collected a suitable heading was provided.¹

Assuming that the account in Herodotus and that in Kings refer to the same battle, is the capture of Kadytis a reference to the 'smiting' of Gaza mentioned in Jer. xlvii 1? The majority of commentators since Hitzig's dissertation was published in 1829² accept the identification, and accordingly place the fall of Gaza after the battle of Megiddo. This suggestion, however, has not met with universal approval,³ and it is by no means free from difficulties. Why, for example, should Necho delay his conquest of Gaza till after Megiddo? And, if Gaza had at first been friendly, why should it rebel at the very moment when Necho was at the height of his power? Further, Hitzig's arguments have been challenged on various grounds by several scholars, e. g. by Meyer⁴ and by Noordtzi.⁵ The latter thinks that Kadytis is Kadesh on the Orontes, which is quite a possible identification, though it is perhaps better to identify it with the Kadesh a few miles east of Lejjun

¹ The *prophecy* is accepted as genuine by Cornill, following Giesebrecht, as against Duhm and Erbt. For his arguments see *Das Buch Jeremia* p. 458.

² *De Cadyti urbe Herodotea*. Gaza, it should perhaps be mentioned, appears in Egyptian inscriptions as Ga-da-tu. Cf. W. Max Müller *Asien u. Europa* p. 159.

³ For a list of various other suggestions see Wiedemann *Herodots Zweites Buch* p. 566.

⁴ *History of the City of Gaza* p. 38.

⁵ *De Filistijnen* p. 171.

(the modern Tell Abu Kudeis).¹ An interesting parallel can then be drawn to the campaign of Thotmes III, for his troops after gaining an easy victory outside Megiddo delayed the occupation of that town in order to plunder Kadesh. Herodotus's reference, therefore, is probably not to Gaza, or at any rate is not so certain as to preclude further research into the subject.

The next question to be discussed is that of the stage of the campaign at which Gaza fell. Three possible suggestions have found advocates: that it took place (a) on Necho's entry into Syria; (b) after the battle of Megiddo; (c) after the defeat at Carchemish.²

(a) Many scholars, tacitly ignoring the passage in Herodotus or Hitzig's theory in regard to it, place the reduction of Gaza on Necho's march up to Megiddo. Rogers, for example, says 'Necho marched by land and the city of Gaza which was first approached offered some resistance',³ and he is supported in this opinion by Breasted⁴ and by R. A. S. Macalister.⁵ If the statement of Herodotus and the theory which Hitzig has based upon it be both correct Rogers's conclusion falls to the ground; but, as has been shewn above, the correctness of Herodotus, and still more of Hitzig's theory, cannot be assumed. There is, however, a further difficulty, which may be stated in the words of G. A. Smith: 'The eight days' march across the sands from the Delta requires that if an army come up that way into Syria, Gaza, being their first relief from the desert, should be in friendly hands.'⁶ If, therefore, Gaza had been hostile it would seem to have required a preliminary expedition to subdue it and would have delayed for a considerable time the Syrian campaign. In spite of this the capture of Gaza before Megiddo is a possibility which cannot be ignored.

(b) Hitzig's theory that Gaza is Kadytis, and that therefore it fell after the battle of Megiddo, immediately raises several difficulties, as was pointed out above.⁷ It is, of course, quite possible that the men of Gaza concealed their hostility until the Egyptian advance had

¹ Herodotus states that Kadytis was a large city (ii 159), and in another passage (iii 5) that it was a city 'not much less than Sardis'. This description would apply to Gaza or to Kadesh on the Orontes; it is quite likely, however, that the historian confused the Kadesh near Lejjun with its more famous namesake, granting that it was the city captured.

² Another possibility is that it fell during the expedition of Hophra against Phoenicia (Herod. ii 161); there is, however, no evidence to support this possibility.

³ *Hist. Bab. and Ass.* ii p. 310.

⁴ *History of Egypt* p. 582.

⁵ *Schweich Lectures (The Philistines)* p. 65.

⁶ *Hist. Geog.* p. 184.

⁷ See p. 44.

penetrated into the north; but even so it is hard to understand their policy, unless the opposition prepared at Megiddo induced them to take the risk of Necho's victory and to rebel before the battle was actually decided; they may indeed have been acting in concert with the North Syrian forces. In this case Necho must have returned, or dispatched part of his army to open the siege, either immediately after the battle or after advancing as far as the Euphrates and securing the whole of Syria.¹ It seems very probable that the defeat at Megiddo brought a sudden end to the Syrian opposition, and that the army which fought at Carchemish in 605 B.C. was gathered together for a distinct expedition.² The reduction of Gaza by an Egyptian army returning from Megiddo (or from Carchemish) fulfils the prophecy of Jer. xlvii 2 'Behold, waters rise up out of the north', but, as was pointed out above,³ the connexion of the oracle with Pharaoh is very dubious.

(c) That Necho 'smote Gaza' on his retreat from Carchemish is, as Cornill says, quite inconceivable.⁴ The victory of Nebuchadrezzar was a decisive one, the Egyptians and their mercenaries suffered heavy losses and appear to have been utterly demoralized; in addition the Babylonians followed hard on the heels of their defeated foes, whose one object must have been to regain their own territory as quickly as possible.⁵ It is true that the defeat at Carchemish would be the opportunity for the revolt of Gaza, but it is practically impossible to fit in a successful siege during the retreat from the north. It must be remembered, however, that Nebuchadrezzar was only the general of the Babylonian armies, and soon after his victory the death of his father Nabopolassar demanded his speedy return to Babylon, and that he had to hasten back across the desert from Pelusium, on the very borders of Egypt itself.⁶ This sudden departure of Nebuchadrezzar may have given Necho an opportunity for gathering together the remnants of his forces and for besieging Gaza; partly in order to avenge its revolt, and partly because its possession was of pre-eminent importance to Egypt as being 'the outpost of Africa, the door of Asia'.⁷

In the opinion of the present writer the course of the campaign was somewhat as follows. Necho entered Palestine by the land route, and

¹ The presence of Phœnician troops in Necho's army at Carchemish (see Müller-Didot *Fragments Hist. Grec.* ii 506) seems to shew that he had subdued or was in alliance with the whole of Syria.

² Such is the opinion of Breasted *op. cit.* pp. 583 f, and cf. Rogers *op. cit.* ii 312.

³ P. 44.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 459 'ganz undenkbar'.

⁵ *Enc. Bib.* 451, and cf. Jer. xlvii 5 f, 14-16.

⁶ C. H. W. Johns *Ancient Babylonia* p. 127.

⁷ G. A. Smith *Hist. Geog.* p. 184.

leaving Gaza on one side as it exhibited no hostile sentiments, he marched rapidly along the high road towards Megiddo : here he was met in the defile by Josiah, king of Judah, probably acting in conjunction with other Syrian rulers and possibly as the vassal of Assyria. After a battle which spread over the valley Josiah was slain and his allies scattered. Necho then pushed on as far as the Euphrates, and having subjugated the whole of Syria, he returned to Egypt, arranging the succession in Judah on his way (2 Kings xxiii 33 f). A second expedition, which attempted to extend his dominions beyond the Euphrates or, at any rate, to defend his newly won conquests from the Babylonians, was disastrously checked by the battle of Carchemish. The news of the Egyptian defeat caused Gaza to revolt, but after Nebuchadrezzar's sudden return to Babylon Necho found himself in a position to besiege Gaza, which fell before his assaults. The account of Herodotus is based on the Egyptian view of the campaign, *Μαγδώλῳ* being their name for the battle of Megiddo, and *Κάδυστι* representing not Gaza but Kadesh.

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

THE CAROLINGIAN *GREGORIANUM*: ITS SECTIONS AND THEIR NUMBERING.

It would greatly facilitate the study of Sacramentaries, now that Mr Wilson has provided for the Henry Bradshaw Society a good working edition of the *Gregorianum*, as sent presumably by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne, if the enumeration of the sections in the first part, the *Gregorianum* proper of that date, could be established, and adopted as a standard of comparison. The enumeration of the sections in the second part, the Supplement, is, of course, well known, as being contained in many MSS and printed in various editions. But the enumeration of sections in the first part is only fragmentarily preserved. Mr Wilson faithfully records such numbers as he found in one of the three MSS used for his edition, the MS of Cambrai : but there are few of them and these scattered. The other two MSS, which he used, give no such numbers.

On turning to the *Codex Rodradi* (Paris, Biblioth. Nationale MS Latin 12050) we find numbers which in one place coincide with, and in many others supplement, the numbering given in the Cambrai MS. From these two sources the whole enumeration can be recovered,

subject only to a few doubtful points which further investigation may clear up.

The list of headings may be made out as follows, with some notes added on the ambiguous points in the enumeration. The numbers in brackets are conjecturally supplied; those marked with a star are from the Cambrai MS, the rest from *Codex Rodradi*.

(1)	Canon	Wilson p. 1
(2)	Benedictio Episcoporum	5
(3)	Ad ordinandum Episcopum	6
(4)	„ „ Diaconum	7
(5)	Vigiliae domini	8
(6)	Natale domini	Ad S. Mariam Maiorem 9
(7)		De nocte Ad S. Anastasiam 10
(8)		Ad S. Petrum 11
(9)		Aliae orationes 12
(10)	Nat. S. Stephani	13
(11)	„ S. Iohannis Evang.	14
(12)	Nat. Innocentum	Ad S. Paulum 15
13	„ S. Silvestri	15

This is the earliest number given in *Rodr.* From it the preceding ones can be deduced without any doubt.

14	In Octabas Domini	Ad S. Mariam ad Martyres 16
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This Mass is followed by two Sunday Collects which are found again in § vii and § viii of the Appendix. They evidently have no number of their own here.

(15)	Epyphania	Ad S. Petrum 17
16	Nat. S. Felicis in Pincis	18
17	„ S. Marcelli Pape	19
18	„ S. Priscæ	19
19	„ S. Fabiani	20
20	„ S. Sebastiani	20

Eodem die but different number.

21	„ S. Agnae	21
22	„ S. Vincentii	21
23	„ S. Agne secundo	21
24	Yppapanti	Ad S. Mariam 22
		Oratio ad Collectam Ad S. Adrianum
25		Missa ad S. Mariam Maiorem 22
26	Nat. S. Agathæ	23
27	„ S. Valentini	24
28	„ S. Gregorii Papæ	24

29 Adnuntiatio S. Mariae

Wilson p. 24

The first collect is presumably for the *Collecta* : the second is headed *ad Missam* : but all are included in one section—unlike §§ 24, 25 above, or §§ 33, 34 and §§ 172, 173 below,

30	In Septuagesima	Ad S. Laurentium foris murum	25
31	In Sexagesima	Ad S. Paulum	25
32	In Quinquagesima	Ad S. Petrum	26
33	Feria iv	Collecta ad S. Anastasiam	26
34		Missa ad S. Sabinam	26
35	Feria v	Ad S. Georgium	27
36	Feria vi	Ad SS. Iohannem et Paulum	27
37	In Quadragesima	Ad S. Iohannem in Lateranis	28

The days of Lent follow, with their Stations marked, and Rodr. gives a number for each.

38-42	Fe. ij-Fe. vj		28-31
43	Sabbatum in xii lectiones	Ad S. Petrum	31
44		Ad Missas	32
45	Die dominico	Vacat.	32

But three collects are given.

46-51	Fe. ij-Sabbatum		32-35
52	Die dominica	Ad S. Laurentium foris murum	35
53-58	Fe. ij-Sabbatum		36-38
59	Die dominico	Ad Hierusalem	39
60-65	Fe. ij-Sabbatum		39-42
66	Die dominica de passione domini	Ad S. Petrum	42
67-71	Fe. ij-Fe. vi		43-45
72	Sabbatum	Ad S. Petrum quando eleemosina datur	45
73	Die dominica in palmis	Ad S. Iohannem in Lateranis	46
74	Fe. ij	Ad S. Praxidem	46
75	Fe. iij	Ad S. Priscam	47
(76)	Fe. iv	Ad S. Mariam Maiorem	47
(77)	Oratio in Cena domini ad Missam		48
78 & 78*	Exorcismus olei		50

The number is given in both authorities.

79*	Orationes quae dicendae sunt v Feria Maiore in Hierusalem	51
(80)	Benedictio salis	53
81	Or. ad catechuminum faciendum	53
(82)	Or. super infantes in quadragesima ad iv euangelia	54
83	Or. in Sabbato Paschae	54
(84)	Or. quae dicuntur ad lectiones in ecclesia	54
(85)	Benedictio Fontis	55

- (86) Or. ad infantes consignandos Wilson p. 57
 87 Or. in Sabbato Sancto in Nocte ad Missam 58

There is some doubt as to the position of the numbers between 83 and 87: but no other distribution of them than the one given above seems probable.

- 88 Or. in Dominica Sancta ad Missam 59
 (89) Fe. ij in albas Ad S. Petrum 60
 90 Fe. iij Ad S. Paulum 61
 91 Fe. iv Ad S. Laurentium foris murum 62
 92 Fe. v Ad Apostolos 63
 93 Fe. vi Ad S. Mariam ad Martyres 64
 (94) Sabbatum Ad S. Iohannem 65
 (95) Die Dominico post albas 65
 (96) Aliae orationes paschales 66
 (97) Nat. SS. Tiburtii et Valeriani 69
 98* „ S. Georgii 69

The Cambrai MS gives this as xcvi, probably by mistake. There seems in the preceding matter since No. 93 no room for an additional number beyond those suggested above.

- (99) Laetania Maior Ad S. Laurentium in Lucinae 70
 (100) Ad Missam 70

If the Cambrai MS is right in its No. 99, these two must be taken together as forming § 100.

- (101) Nat. S. Vitalis 71
 (102) „ Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi 71
 103* „ SS. Alexandri Eventii et Theodoli 72
 (104)? „ S. Iohannis ante Portam Latinam 72
 (105)? „ SS. Gordiani et Epimachi 72
 (106)? „ S. Pancratii 73
 107* „ S. Mariae ad Martyres 73

The Cambrai MS gives this as cvi, but this is probably a mistake for cvii, since three distinct sections have intervened since No. 103; and the higher number also agrees with what follows.

- (108) In Ascensa Domini 74
 (109) Nat. S. Urbani papae 75
 (110) Incipiunt orationes de Pentecosten, die Sabbato ante
 descensum fontis 75
 (111) Orationes ad Missam in Sabbato Pentecosten post ascensum
 fontis 77
 (112) Die Dominico Ad S. Petrum 78
 (113) Fe. ij Ad Vincula 79
 (114) Fe. iij Ad S. Anastasiam 79

(115) Fe. iv	Ad S. Mariam Maiorem Wilson p. 79	
(116) Fe. vi	Ad Apostolos	
117* Sabbatum in XII lectiones Mense quarto		80

There is no separate number for the Mass as in § 43 above; but there the heading *Ad Missas* is found which is not found here, nor on the two other Ember Saturdays §§ 166, 191. The heading survives at this point in Ménard's *Sacr. S. Eligii*.

118* Die dominico vacat		81
(119) Dedic. Basilicae S. Nicomedis		82
(120) Nat. SS. Marcellini et Petri		82
(121) „ SS. Marci et Marcelliani		83
(122) „ SS. Protasi et Gervasii		83
(123) Vigilia S. Iohannis Baptistae		83
(124) Nat. S. „ „ in prima missa		84
(125) Item alia		84

This seems the more likely place for No. 125: but it might go with the heading *ALIAE ORATIONES* (p. 85) instead.

(126) Nat. SS. Iohannis et Pauli		85
(127) „ S. Leonis papae		86
(128) Vig. S. Petri	Oratio ad Missam	86

The last three words form part of the heading and seem to be contrasted with the heading *AD VIGILIAS IN NOCTE* which follows the mass. But there seems no separate number available for this heading.

129* Nat. S. Petri		87
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There is no number again till § 180: but the places of the numbers can be determined with very little room for doubt.

(130) Nat. S. Pauli		88
(131) In Octabas Apostolorum		89
(132) Nat. SS. Processi et Martiniani		89
(133) „ Septem Fratrum		90
(134) „ SS. Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis		90
(135) „ SS. Abdon et Sennes		91
(136) Ad S. Petrum ad Vincula		91
(137) Nat. S. Stephani episcopi		91
(138) „ S. Xysti episcopi		92

With *BENEDICTIO VIAE*, but not, apparently, as a separate section.

(139) Item in eodem die. Nat. S. Filicissimi et Agapiti		93
(140) Nat. S. Ciriaci		93
(141) Vig. S. Laurentii		93
(142) Nat. S. Laurentii	In prima missa	94
(143)	Item ad missam	94
(144) „ S. Tiburtii		95

(145)	Nat. S. Yppoliti	Wilson p. 95
(146)	„ S. Eusebii presbiteri	96
(147)	Vig. Adsumptionis S. Mariae	96
(148)	Adsumptio S. Mariae	97
(149)	Alia ad Missam	97

Probably a separate section : cp. Nos. 24, 33, 155, and 172 : but contrast No. 29.

(150)	Nat. S. Agapiti	97
(151)	„ S. Timothei	98
(152)	„ S. Hermetis	98
(153)	„ S. Sabinae	99
(154)	„ SS. Felicis et Adaucti	99
(155)	„ Natiuitas S. Mariae	99
(156)	Ad Missam	100

See No. 149.

(157)	Nat. SS. Proti et Iacinctii	100
(158)	„ SS. Cornelii et Cipriani	101
(159)	Exaltatio S. Crucis	101
(160)	Nat. S. Nicomedis	101
(161)	„ S. Eufemiae	102
(162)	Die suprascripto Nat. SS. Luciae et Geminiani	102
(163)	Mense septimo orationes Die Dominico Ad S. Petrum	103
(164)	Fe. iv Ad S. Mariam Maiorem	103
(165)	Fe. vj Ad Apostolos	103
(166)	Sabbatum Ad S. Petrum in XII lectiones	104
(167)	Die Dominica vacat	105
(168)	Nat. SS. Cosme et Damiani	105
(169)	Dedicatio Basilicae S. Angeli Michaelis	105
(170)	Nat. S. Marci papae	106
(171)	„ S. Calisti papae	106
(172)	„ S. Caesarii Collecta ad SS. Cosmam et Damianum	107
(173)	Ad Missam	107

Cp. §§ 24, 33 and probably also 148, 155.

(174)	„ SS. Quattuor Coronatorum	107
(175)	„ S. Theodori	108
(176)	„ S. Mennae	108
(177)	„ S. Martini	108
(178)	„ S. Ceciliae	109
(179)	„ S. Clementis	109
180*	Item eodem die Nat. S. Felicitatis	110
181*	Nat. S. Chrysogoni	110

(182) Nat. S. Saturnini	Wilson p.	110
(183) Item eodem die Vig. S. Andreae		111
(184) Nat. S. Andreae		111
(185) Orationes de Aduentu Domini	Dominica Prima	113
(186)	Dominica Secunda	113
(187) Nat. S. Luciae		113
(188) Dominica iii	Ad S. Petrum	114
189* Fe. iv	Ad S. Mariam Maiorem	114
190* Fe. vi	Ad Apostolos	115
(191) Sabbatum in XII lectiones	Ad S. Petrum	115
192* Die dominica vacat		116
193* Aliae orationes de Aduentu		116
(194) Oratio quando leuantur reliquiae		117
195* „ in dedicatione ecclesiae		117
(196) „ post velatum altare		117
(197) Ad Missas		118
198 Oratio in Natali papae		119

This is the latest number recoverable from these two MSS. It is not, therefore, certain that the further sections were numbered: but probably they were, and ran much as follows.

(199) Oratio in Ordinatione presbiteri	120
(200) „ ad Sponsas benedicendas	120
(201) Orationes pro peccatis	122
(202) Incipiunt orationes cotidianae	126
(203) „ „ matutinales	132
(204) „ „ vespertinales seu matutinales	133
(205) Oratio ad baptizandum infirmum	136
(206) „ aquae ad baptizandum infirmum	136
(207) „ „ exorcizatae in domo	137
(208) „ ad visitandum infirmum	138
(209) „ super paenitentem	138
(210) „ ad agapem pauperum	138
(211) „ ad capillaturam	138
(212) „ ad clericum faciendum	139
(213) „ ad barbas tondendas	139
(214) „ ad diaconam faciendam	139
(215) „ ad ancillas dei velandas	139
(216) „ ad abbatem faciendum vel abbatissam	140
(217) „ in tempore belli	140
(218) „ pro his qui iter agunt	140
(219) „ pro pluuiâ postulanda	140
(220) „ quando multum pluit	140
(221) „ in area	141

(222) Oratio pro peste animalium	Wilson p. 141
(223) Orationes pro peste animalium	141
(224) Oratio super episcopum defunctum	142
(225) Item aliae orationes in Agenda mortuorum	142
(226) Oratio ad pontificem ordinandum	143

It cannot be doubted that the *libellus* composed of these sections was an archetypal document, which underlies most of the subsequent Frankish Gregorian Sacramentaries that are extant. The *Hucusque* preface makes it clear that this was supposed to be (apart from a few additions) the book of Gregory I. It is not, however, equally certain that it is the book which Pope Hadrian sent to Charlemagne, though there is much to be said for the supposition.

If so, it is strange that the Pope's model volume should not have been a more carefully compiled and a more complete representative of the Use of Rome. Even a small scrutiny, such as that which has produced the table of sections given above, reveals considerable marks of inaccuracy, and lack of system. For example—

1. The Mass of Ember Saturday is properly distinguished from the preceding service at § 44, but not at § 117, 166, or 191.

2. There is added to the Mass of January 1 a pair of collects *In alia dominica*. These apparently are meant to serve for Sundays after Christmas, and, indeed, they figure thus in the *Hucusque* Supplement (§§ vii, viii); but the provision is inadequate, and the numbering does not distinguish them.

3. In three places the *Collecta* is noted, §§ 24 (Candlemas), 33 (Ash Wed.), and 172 (Caesarius): probably the same is implied, though not noted, at 29 (Annunciation), 99 (Laetania Maior), 148 (Assumption), and 155 (Nativ. B. V. M.): possibly also on the Ember Wednesdays and those in the fourth and sixth weeks of Lent, i. e. when two collects are provided.

4. *Aliae orationes* is the heading of a section at Christmas (9), Easter (96), St John Baptist (125), and Advent (193). In some of these cases the section seems to include prayers which would more properly be headed *Ad fontes*, or *Ad S. Andream*.

In § 9 the fifth and sixth are called in the Rheims MS 213 '*Ad fontes*' and '*Ad S. Andream*'.

In § 96 the same MS calls the first of the section '*Ad S. Andream*' and the last of the preceding section '*Ad fontes*'.

In § 125 Ménard's Sacramentary heads the last of the section '*Ad matutinos*', and it is followed by the '*Ad fontes*' OSD da cordibus, which here is in the previous section.

In these four cases the heading ALIAE ORATIONES seems to begin

a new numbered section. Elsewhere it does not, e.g. in § 15 (Epiphany), 74 (Ascension), 110 (Vig. Pent.). For similar groups see also §§ 10, 129, 184. As a rule collects *Ad vespers*, *Ad fontes*, and *Ad S. Andream* are included in one section with the Mass.

5. The mention of the Stations seems to be incomplete, though it is difficult to judge for lack of any standard of comparison. Other books—the Gradual or the Gospel Capitulary—have ways of their own in recording Stations. Here some of the Station names have disappeared at the *Litania Maior*, and the headings *Ad crucem*, *In atrio* have taken their place. The absence of any mention of Station on Easter Sunday (88) can hardly be anything else but a blunder. The Station for Evensong is marked on that day and on the following Monday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday; but not on the other days of the week. Whether these are omissions here is uncertain; and the other books, since they do not deal with Evensong, throw no light on the question. Again, the omission at Saturday after Whitsunday (117) must probably be a blunder.

6. A second *Ad complendum* is added in § 100, which is also to be found at the end of § 202 (Wilson, p. 132).

These are some small points which seem to make it clear that this specimen of Frankish *Gregorianum* was a somewhat carelessly compiled book in itself, apart from the fact (which may have some other explanation than carelessness) that it made such inadequate provision for the lesser Sundays. Nevertheless it created a type. The numbering of the sections seems to shew that it was regarded as authoritative and entitled to create a type. In any case at the present time it is the best standard of comparison for different forms of *Gregorianum*, Frankish and Italian, and for different stages in the developement; and the official enumeration will help to make comparison easy, even though itself it suffers in one or two places from the imperfections of its archetype.

W. H. FRERE.

THE ORDINATION PRAYERS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

To the JOURNAL of April last (vol. xvii) Dr Bartlet contributed an article entitled 'The Ordination Prayers in the Ancient Church Order'. He drew the conclusion (p. 256) that 'there seems good cause to regard the form of the Ancient Church Order, as it took shape in Syria about the middle of the third century or rather later, and so of Hippolytus's *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολική παράδοσις* on which it was based, as best

represented by CH in the ordination sections for bishop and presbyter, as well as for deacon¹.

As I wholly dissent from Dr Bartlet's conclusion, I had thought of offering some remarks upon his article immediately after its appearance. But I deferred doing so until my own study 'The so-called Egyptian Church Order and derived Documents' (*Texts and Studies* viii 4) should have been published; because it seemed to me that particular sections of the documents involved (such as those on ordination) can only be safely approached after some personal attempt has been made to grapple with the general problem of the inter-relation of the documents as wholes; and I could not undertake to do that within the compass of a short article.

In the volume referred to I have tried to set out the evidence which has led me to certain definite conclusions as to the relationship subsisting between these five documents: the so-called 'Egyptian Church Order' (EgCO), the 'Canons of Hippolytus' (CH), the 'Apostolic Constitutions' book viii (AC viii), the 'Constitutions through Hippolytus' or 'Epitome' of AC viii (Ep), and the 'Testament of our Lord' (Test). These conclusions may be summarized as follows:—

1. That EgCO is the immediate source of all the other documents except Ep; and that even Ep has derived its text of the bishop's ordination prayer and of the section on the reader, together with its ascription of this part of its contents to Hippolytus, directly from EgCO.

2. That Ep is, apart from the items just mentioned, merely a set of extracts from AC viii.

3. That EgCO is itself the 'Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις (but not the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*) of Hippolytus.

4. That AC viii chapters 1 and 2 are wholly the personal composition of the compiler of AC, and have only this connexion with the lost *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* of Hippolytus, that they were written in order to satisfy an allusion to that work which the AC compiler had before him in the prologue of EgCO.¹

I need not here recapitulate the evidence on which these conclusions rest; but I would draw attention to two salient points in the evidence.

(a) I find no satisfactory trace of any immediate literary connexion between CH, AC viii, and Test.

(b) So far as I have been able to discover, EgCO is the measure of

¹ The existence of this prologue to EgCO only came to light in 1900 with the publication of the old Latin fragments by E. Hauler. Four years later Mr Horner published the full text of the Ethiopic version (hitherto known only in the extracts given from it by Ludolf); and then it was seen that the prologue was preserved by this version as well—though not in its proper place.

all the matter common to any two of those other three¹ documents : in other words, those documents agree together only in so far as they also agree with EgCO.

These data do not, of course, prove at once that EgCO is the actual source of the other documents ; they might result from the circumstance that EgCO stood *second* in a line of descent, and that the other two were derived from it. For it is evident that if there are three documents A, B, C standing in a direct line of descent, C can agree with A only where it has inherited from A *through* B.

That EgCO is not dependent on AC viii, Ep, or Test is generally recognized in this country, and admits in fact of demonstration. No one in England that I know of has accepted Funk's view, that EgCO is derived from AC viii through Ep, though in Germany it has (in combination however with certain correct conclusions of Funk which have been generally ignored in England) won the adherence of (amongst others) Harnack and Bardenhewer. As regards Test, Rahmani, its first editor, is, I believe, alone in placing it before EgCO. The choice, therefore, lies between EgCO and CH as the source of the rest. The hypothesis of a lost original (the 'Lost Church Order') from which all, or at least several, of our documents may be supposed to have been immediately and independently derived, is considered on pp. 33-35 of my book. I cannot entertain it, chiefly for two reasons : (1) It was originated by the late Dr John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, to account for 'the common matter' in the existing Orders. But, as stated under (b) above, EgCO contains all that common matter ; and hence there is no call for the suggestion of a lost source. (2) If several of the existing Orders were derived independently from an earlier original, we should confidently expect to find points of agreement between AC and CH, or AC and Test, or CH and Test, not shared by EgCO : some of these pairs would surely have agreed at least in preserving some of the common matter in a different literary, or textual, form from that found in EgCO. But of this I have found, after searching the documents, no trace. The appearance of St Stephen's name in the ordination prayers for a deacon in AC and CH is certainly not an example : it is too easy and obvious an improvement to call for the supposition of its presence in a common source : it is far more likely to have been added in AC and CH than to have been omitted in EgCO and Test if originally present.

The case as between EgCO and CH is considered at length in chapter ii of my book ; and that CH is secondary and EgCO primary appears to me to be beyond all doubt. I will instance but one out of

¹ Ep may here be left out of account as merely reproducing AC viii (with the exceptions already noted).

many items in the proof. The long moral and ascetical passage of CH, which since the publication of Achelis's *Canones Hippolyti* has generally been allowed to drop out of sight altogether, is now seen from Riedel's new text to be an integral part of the original CH, belonging not to canon 30, where Haneberg's text has it, but to canon 38, where it forms a conclusion to the whole document, and where the difficulties which justified Achelis in removing it are no longer felt (cf. p. 121 ff of my book). But even Achelis recognized that it was *by the same hand* as the original CH; though he thought that it must have been inserted later from a separate work of the CH compiler. He accordingly relegated it to an appendix, where it rested in peace till its true character was made known, or knowable, by Riedel. There is no trace of this long passage in any of the other Orders; and the nature of its contents will probably be recognized as fatal to the pretensions of CH.

I think it unnecessary to take up here individual points in Dr Bartlet's article. My purpose is merely to emphasize the character of the main problem, under which all such minor questions must fall. The problem is mainly a synoptic one. And when the synoptic evidence of the documents is looked into it is found, as I have insisted, that all their common features are reducible to terms of EgCO. That EgCO purports to be, and is in fact, the original 'Hippolytean Church Order' (the *Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* of Hippolytus) I am fully convinced¹; and with this work in our hands (however imperfect the forms in which it survives) we can learn better than by any other means what Hippolytus has to tell us about so many matters in which we are so deeply interested. The hypothesis—I am almost tempted to say myth—of a 'Lost Church Order' helps only to keep everything in the vague and to propagate conjectures that can never be verified.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ I must again refer to my book, chapter iii, for a statement of the evidence on this point.

TE DECET LAUS.

IN the JOURNAL for January 1915 (xvi 255 ff) Mr J. Mearns published two useful indexes to the hymns in the *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* of W. Christ and M. Paranikas (1871). In the first of these indexes he gives a list of first lines in alphabetical order, with a reference to the page of the Anthology on which each occurs and an indication of the source from which each is drawn—usually the service-book in which it finds a place, occasionally the original author or some early document. For two of the hymns, *Αἰνεῖτε, παῖδες, κύριον* (*Anth.* p. 39), and *Εὐλογητὸς εἰ, κύριε ὁ τρέφων με* (*Anth.* p. 40), the only reference given is 'In the Apostolic Constitutions'. Hence it appears that neither of these hymns is in use in the Greek services. The place in the *Apostolic Constitutions* in which they occur is, of course, at the end of book vii, in chapters 48 and 49.

Those who use Funk's edition of the *Apostolic Constitutions* will see in a note to the *Εὐλογητὸς εἰ* that this formula is to be found also in St John Chrysostom's *Hom. 55 in Matth.* and in Pseudo-Athanasius *de Virginitate*; in both these places it is spoken of as a grace after meat. But all that Funk could do by way of illustrating the *Αἰνεῖτε παῖδες* was to refer to the *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* (in Routh *Rel. Sacr.* iii 515) and to the somewhat similar evening hymn of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Carm.* 32).

This hymn beginning *Αἰνεῖτε* may for present convenience be broken up into four parts—if indeed it be a single composition and not rather a mere aggregate of several short formulae.

1. Ps. cxii 1 *Αἰνεῖτε κτλ.*

2. αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, κύριε βασιλεῦ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ, ὃς αἶρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.

3. σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος, σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, σοὶ δόξα πρέπει τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

4. νῦν ἀπολύεις (with the rest of the *Nunc dimittis*).

Of these four pieces, 1 and 2 perhaps belong together. But the *Nunc dimittis*, in 4, seems quite independent of the piece in 3, which is itself of the nature of a doxology, and has its own 'Amen'.

The point of this Note is to call attention to an interesting historical fact, connected with no. 3 (*σοὶ πρέπει*) above, which seems not to be commonly known. This little hymn, or doxology, was well known in

the neighbourhood of Rome in St Benedict's day (say, 500-550); it was prescribed by him to be said at a certain point in the Night Office; and it is actually in use there to this day.

In chapter xi of his *Rule* St Benedict directs that after the reading of the Gospel at 'Vigils' (that is, Nocturns, or what we now call 'Mattins') on Sundays, the abbot shall commence the 'hymn' *Te decet laus*. His words are:

'et subsequatur mox abbas hymnum *Te decet laus*, et data benedictione incipiant Matutinos' (i. e. 'Lauds').

In quoting only the first words of this formula, St Benedict shews us that the rest must have been well known. The full Latin text, as traditionally said in the Benedictine Office on all days when the Gospel is read at Mattins, is as follows:

'Te decet laus, te decet hymnus: tibi gloria Deo Patri et Filio cum sancto Spiritu in saecula saeculorum. Amen'.

This formula will be sought in vain in three out of the four volumes of the Breviary. It is printed in one place only, viz. in the 'Pars Hiemalis', after the Gospel at Mattins for the first Sunday of Advent—the first occasion in the ecclesiastical year on which it is said. Elsewhere it is not even referred to by a rubric. Thus its present existence may easily escape those not familiar by use with the Benedictine Office. It is now said *memoriter* by all together immediately after they have responded 'Amen' to the Gospel.

The *Te decet* is not in the Roman Office; and I do not know where it is to be found except in the Apostolic Constitutions and the Monastic Breviary. The survival in use of this little hymn—truly 'ancient and modern'—and the medium of its preservation in the West seem worth drawing attention to. The facts about it are, it is true, no new discovery, for commentators on the *Rule* have already referred to A. C. vii for the *Te decet*. But I cannot find that these facts are matter of common knowledge: Funk, for instance, gives no reference to the *Rule*, while Abbot Butler, in his edition of the *Rule* (Herder, 1912), does not cite A. C. vii among his *Fontes*; and other recent writers who could be named, in treating of the hymns in A. C. vii and similar ancient formulae, fail to connect the *Σοὶ πρέκει* with the *Te decet*.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Since the above has been in print my attention has been called to a recent book in which the facts here indicated have already been noted: viz. *Pange Lingua*, by Alan G. McDougall (Burns and Oates: Preface dated April 20, 1916), Introduction (by Dr Adrian Fortescue) p. xv.

REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK PSALTER.

BEING THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. S.P.C.K. 1916.

THE Prayer Book Version of the Psalter has escaped hitherto all authoritative revision, and it ought to stand to-day as it stood in the Great Bible of 1539 or at least in the edition of 1540. But that insistent and irrepressible reviser the Printer has been constantly at work. His hand has been on the spelling and punctuation, and even on the colon which adapts the text for singing. The Psalms of the Prayer Book have a deceptive appearance of modernity, and the current text can make no claim to minute accuracy. Thus in a good modern edition we read:

'I am weary of my groaning; every night wash I my bed:
and water my couch with my tears.
My beauty is gone for very trouble:
and worn away because of all mine enemies.

All mine enemies shall be confounded, and sore vexed:
they shall be turned back, and put to shame suddenly.'

(Ps. vi 6, 7, 10.)

But the verses untouched by the Printer wear quite another aspect:

'I am weery of my gronyng:
euery nyght wash I my bedde, and water my couche with my
teares.
My bewtie is gone for very trouble,
& worne away because of all myne enemies.

All myne enemyes shalbe confounded and soore vexed:
they shalbe turned backe and put to shame, sodenly.'

An authoritative revision is needed not only to correct some bad mistakes of translation, but also to control the unlicensed corrections of the Printer. Of these some were good and some bad. It was necessary to test them, and to reject the unworthy. But it was a yet more pressing duty to remove the mistranslations of important words and phrases which were too numerous for the credit of the Church which put them into the mouths of worshippers. The version was in the main the work of Coverdale, a man of good sense with a marked power of writing the wholesome 'market English' of his time, but with small claim to Hebrew scholarship.

The Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to revise the Psalter might be described as an expansion of Coverdale himself. It represented good sense and scholarship, but not much Hebrew. The two Hebrew scholars who were selected were swamped by six non-Hebraists; indeed, it was originally intended that the six should be eight. The second clause of the Report speaks of the Prayer Book Psalter as a 'great English classic', and the Committee worked no doubt with this phrase borne constantly in mind.

When we consider the depressing circumstances under which revision of any matter whatsoever is carried out in this country, we are bound to offer our sincerest thanks to a Committee which undertook and executed the thankless task of revising the text of the English Psalter. To put the case bluntly, Coverdale's English was very good, while his Hebrew was very bad: how then was his translation to be mended without injury to his periods?

The conservative character of the revision is manifest at once in the retention of the many additional words and clauses which are not found in the Hebrew text. It is true that the Revisers omit from Psalm xiv three verses (5-7), the longest interpolation found in the LXX and Vulgate text, but this is perhaps the only exception.¹ On the other hand they retain cxxxvi 27 (whole verse); xiii 6^b (half-verse); i 5; ii 11, 12; iii 2; iv 8; xiv 2, 9; xxii 1; lxxiii 28. The Revisers have not cut down the 'corn and wine *and oil*' (iv 8) of 1539 to match the plain 'corn and wine' of the Hebrew text, and Psalm xxii still begins (as in the LXX) with the words, 'My God, my God, *look upon me.*' Fullness and roundness of phrasing still mark the P. B. Version.

Some happy changes of punctuation have been introduced by the Committee, changes, that is to say, on the text of modern editions. The revised stopping is sometimes in fact not new, but a return to that of 1539. A good instance of this is found in lxii 9 (see also xviii 15):

'As for the children of men, they are but vanity, the children
of men are deceitful:
upon the weights they are altogether lighter than vanity itself.'

Further, in seven instances the Revisers recommend that a verse be subdivided. In each case it must be said that the suggestion is good, for the verse (as it stands) is certainly too long to be smoothly chanted. Thus xviii 1 is most difficult to sing undivided, and accordingly the Committee proposes the following arrangement:

1. I will love thee, O Lord, my strength:
the Lord is my stony rock, and my defence;

¹ Add xlv 12 (an important passage).

2. My saviour, my God, and my might, in whom I will trust :
my buckler, the horn also of my salvation, and my refuge.

In detail this fresh division is open to criticism. The Psalters of 1535 and 1539 while taking the passage as one verse, placed the colon dividing the two half-verses after the words 'My saviour'. This agrees with accentuation of the Masoretic text, which in turn is based on knowledge of Hebrew association of ideas. The obvious ζυγά are (1) My defence and my saviour (deliverer), and (2) My God and my might (rock: *ḥūrī* Heb.). It would therefore be more faithful to the original to transfer the words 'My saviour' to *v.* 1, and to begin *v.* 2 with 'My God'. Such an address as 'My God' should surely have nothing before it.

The conservative character of the revision is specially marked in the smallness of the number of 'changes in words' which are proposed. Readers of the late Dr Driver's *Parallel Psalter* would probably expect them to be three or four times as numerous as they are. But the Committee held its hand. Even where changes are made they are in many cases rather improvements in the English than corrections of the translation. Archaisms have been treated tenderly (*shawmes* is retained in xcvi 7; and *require*—alas!—in xxvii 4), but in several urgent cases they have been removed to the great advantage of the English reader. *Leasing* (iv 2) has gone, and *naughty*¹ (lxxxvi 14) with it. *Persecute* is in some cases changed into *pursue* (xxxv 6; lxxxiii 15). *Prevent* has disappeared from xviii 18 [19], which now reads, 'They *came upon* me in the day of my trouble', a useful correction. Some profitable changes in proper names have been made: *Rahab* has become *Egypt* (lxxxvii 3); *Cades* is now spelt *Kadesh* (xxix 7), and *Phinees* is written *Phinehas* (cvi 30) as in A. V. One could wish that the hissing form *Manasses* had similarly been changed to *Manasseh* (lxxx 2). Further, some of the grotesque turns of the Great Bible are amended, such as, 'Vex him as a thing *that is raw*' (lviii 8 [9]); 'he smote his enemies *in the hinder parts*' (lxxviii 67); 'thou that ledest Joseph *like a sheep*' (lxxx 1). From xxix 1 the Revisers have turned out the 'young rams' which skipped into the text through an error of the LXX: there is no allusion to animal sacrifice in the original. On the other hand it is much to be regretted that lxviii 4 is untouched:

'O sing unto God, and sing praises unto his name :
magnify him that rideth upon the heavens,
[as it were upon an horse ;]
praise him in his name JAH, and rejoice before him.'

¹ The Revisers resisted the temptation to re-introduce the *naughtipacks* of the Bishops' Bible.

Münster's clumsy note on the text probably misrepresents the original (cp. v. 17), and certainly spoils the balance of the clauses for singing.

The revision of vv. 13, 14 is tantalizing in its result; having begun it might well have proceeded further. The Committee plainly accepted the view that the passage contains a rebuke of those Israelite forces which did not come 'to the help of the LORD against the mighty' on some great occasion; cp. Judges v 16. Accordingly the revised text begins boldly:

'Will ye abide among the sheepfolds . . . ?'

But it proceeds rather feebly with the old text unrevised:

'as the wings of a dove.'

Why 'as'? Moreover, the old lack of connexion between v. 13 and v. 14 is retained. No continuity is suggested by the proposed new rendering:

'When the Almighty scattered kings for their sake:
then fell they as thick as snow in Salmon.'

Surely it would have been an improvement to have given some such rendering as the following, which acknowledges a close connexion between the two verses:

'Will ye abide among the sheepfolds, (:)
O wings of the dove that is covered with silver,
and her feathers with the sheen of gold,
when the Almighty scattereth kings for her, (:)
when it snoweth in Salmon?'

The reproach conveyed in these words may be briefly explained. The favoured, beautiful dove is Israel. Its 'wings' (as in Isa. xviii 1) are the forces which might come swiftly to help their struggling countrymen, but yet seem inclined to hang back in the day of battle. What if JEHOVAH himself is scattering the enemy? The laggards remember rather that it is a day of snow.¹

Under the heading, 'Changes in words', many very useful improvements are proposed, some apparently insignificant, and yet all perhaps worth making. Some changes in tenses are decidedly helpful; e.g. xvi 10 ('my heart *is* glad'); xxxiii 13 (cp. v. 14); xli 8; l 16 ('*sai*th God'); cxvi 4 ('I *found* trouble'). The small change of singular to plural is good in xlvi 10 ('The daughters, i.e. cities, of Judah'), and very good in xxxi 17 ('My times, i.e. both of prosperity and of adversity, are in thy hand'). Again, the use of the word

¹ 'Tryphon made ready all his horse . . . and he came not *by reason of the snow*' (1 Macc. xiii 22).

'saying' to introduce words which are not the Psalmist's own is a welcome improvement; see ii 2 (so A. V.); xli 7 (cp. A. V.). It is, however, a serious fault that the Revisers have not marked in the same way the beginning of the Enemy's curses in cix 5-18. A clear and consistent account of the structure of the Psalm can be given, *if* (and only if) vv. 5-18 (6-19, Heb.) be taken as a quotation by the Psalmist of curses aimed against himself. Thus in vv. 1-4 (1-5, Heb.) the Psalmist speaks consistently of his *enemies* in the plural (*eight* plurals!), and so again in vv. 19-30 (20-31, Heb.), where *eleven* plurals are found. It is utterly different in the imprecatory passage, vv. 5-18 (6-19, Heb.); here it is a single person against whom the curses are aimed, and the singular number is consistently used. The only exceptions are apparent, not real. Thus in v. 12 (13, Heb.), 'Let their name' be blotted out' (A. V., R. V.) the reference of the pronoun is to 'his (the enemy's) posterity', a plural conception.

Now if the single person cursed in vv. 5-18 be the Psalmist himself, the connexion throughout the Psalm is clear, as the following analysis shews:—

Vv. 1-4. The Psalmist complains that '*the mouth* of the deceitful *is opened*' upon him and that he is compassed about with *words of hatred*.

Vv. 5-18. The Psalmist recites these *words of hatred* in his prayer, just as Hezekiah spread out the letter of Sennacherib and recited its *reproaches* before the LORD (2 Kings xix 14-16).

V. 19. The Psalmist uneasy at even reciting 'words that may do hurt' seeks to turn their edge away from himself by the formula, 'Let it thus happen [rather] to mine enemies from the Lord, and to those that *speaking evil against my soul*.'

Vv. 20-30. The Psalmist makes his own petition, and prays for deliverance from his enemies. A careful reading of these verses (as also of vv. 1-4) shews that the Psalmist is on the defensive. He represents the beaten side which the victorious foe is pursuing and would fain annihilate with a mighty curse. (The case of Ps. lxxix is quite different; there the denunciations are the Psalmist's own.)

In introducing changes of wording the Revisers have made good use of earlier versions. Their work shews the influence of the Genevan translation of 1560 and of the Bishops' Bible of 1568, as well as that of the A. V. and R. V. But the Committee has found some happy renderings (or paraphrases) of its own:

'The strange children shall *abase themselves before me*' (dissemble with me: xviii 45 [46]).

'As the *flower of the field*' (as the fat of lambs: xxxvii 20).

¹ 'his name' (P.B.) = τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, LXX.

A spirited effort to get sense from a difficult phrase!

'Why *mock* ye so, ye high hills' (Why hoppe ye so ye hye hylles: lxviii 16, Great Bible).

'In the appointed time, saith God:

I shall judge according unto right' (lxxv 3).

'Great is the peace that they have who love thy law:

and they *shall have no hurt*' (are not offended at it: cxix 165).

Perhaps every reader of the Report of the Committee will look in vain for some particular emendation which appears to him specially desirable. The present reviewer would have liked to find a clearer rendering of cxix 85:

'The proud have digged pits for me:
which are not after thy law.'

Is it the 'pits' or the 'proud' who do not conform to the Divine law? Perhaps a better rendering (or paraphrase), specially for the Prayer Book Psalter, would be:

'Pits were digged for me by the proud:
who walk not after thy law.'

Further, it may be doubted whether it was wise to keep the archaism of xcvi 7:

'With trumpets also and *shawms*:

O shew yourselves joyful before the Lord the King.'

That a *shawm*, 'a scrannel pipe of wretched straw', could really bear a part in the tremendous harmony for which the Psalmist calls is quite unlikely. The Hebrew *shôphâr*, 'cornet', would produce ten times the volume of sound, we may well believe.

From one alteration at least we may rejoice that the Committee held its hand. A paragraph on p. 10 tells us that the Revisers were tempted to desert the Hebrew text of ii 12 ('Kiss the son'—נִשְׁקוּ בֶרֶךְ) in favour of the δρᾶξασθε παιδείας of the LXX (*apprehendite disciplinam*, Vulgate). Such a step would have been a very hardy venture. In the first place the summons of the Masoretic text, *Kiss*, i.e. 'make the sign of submission', answers exactly to the context: JEHOVAH has set his king upon Mount Sion, though the nations rage against him. Secondly, the rendering of LXX (δρᾶξασθε) does *not* suggest a consonantal reading different from that of M. T. The derivative meaning of נִשְׁק (in Piel) is 'to kiss', but a more fundamental signification found in the Kal voice is 'grasp, take hold of' or perhaps 'press'; cp. 1 Chron. xii 2; Ps. lxxviii 9; Job xxxi 27. The word translated *son* (בֶרֶךְ) does indeed raise difficulty, but some such phrase as 'Kiss the son' is demanded by the context. We need as the object of the verb a substantive which answers to 'his anointed' (v. 2), 'my king' (v. 6), and 'my son' (v. 7)

יְהוָה's protégé (if the term may be used) is mentioned in each of the first three strophes of the Psalm, and the fourth strophe is left with a strange gap, if the word בֶּרֶךְ 'son' is removed without some word roughly synonymous being put in its place. 'Kiss my chosen one' (בְּחִירִי, Isa. xlii 1) would (e.g.) give the required sense. In the meantime the Revisers have given, 'Honour the son', a rendering which is sufficiently true to the context to inspire the student with confidence that the general sense of the passage is preserved.

The final recommendation of the report is that the question of the omission of certain passages in the Psalter of the Book of Common Prayer should be taken into consideration by the proper authorities. The list of such passages which they give is as follows:

Ps. v 9-11; lv 16, 24, 25; lviii, the whole Psalm; lxviii 21-23; lxix 23-29; cix 5-19; cxxxvii 7-9; cxxxix 19-22; cxl 9, 10; cxliii 12, adding the final words 'For I am thy servant' to v. 11.

We rise from the perusal of the work of the Committee with a deep sense of the faithfulness, care, and patience of the members. They have not scrupled to take pains over small details in the hope that the general result would repay their toil: no useful correction is too small for them. Not only have they made changes in spelling and punctuation such as have been noticed above, but they have also corrected long-standing misprints; *sight* for *light* in xxxviii 10; and *cleaveth* for *cleaved* in lxxviii 9. They have not hurried over their task; their first meeting took place on Oct. 14, 1913, and since then they have held nineteen meetings of two days each. Much work of less formal kind was done between the meetings by single members and by sub-committees. The result of their deliberations did not reach the general public until the last days of August, 1916. The Revisers have made their appeal specially to those numerous English Churchmen who while deeply conservative in mind yet have a desire to sing their praises with understanding. It is earnestly to be hoped that the labour of the Revisers will not be allowed to be lost. In this time of war no hasty acceptance can be given to their work, but it now lies before us in the handy form of a small well-printed book which exhibits the complete text of the Psalter as revised, followed by the Report itself.¹ If serious criticisms are published on the recommendations of the Report, the Archbishop will (we may suppose) ask the Committee to consider them, but in any case it is to be hoped that the main results of the faithful care of the Revisers will be incorporated at no distant day in the Psalter of the Church of England.

W. EMERY BARNES.

¹ The Prayer Book Psalter revised. Report and Text. S.P.C.K. London 1916. Cloth boards, 3s. net.

THE LAUSIAC HISTORY OF PALLADIUS AND A HOMILY ASCRIBED TO MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

WHILE reading in manuscript¹ a homily ascribed to Macarius of Egypt, I was struck with the parallelism presented by the text with the Lausiatic History of Palladius. On turning up Palladius I discovered that the relation was one of almost word for word identity. Interesting problems immediately arose. Have we here in Macarius a literary source, which Palladius used; or did Macarius (so-called) borrow from Palladius; or, finally, did both of them draw from a common source?

The homily begins with a question, thus: *περὶ τῶν ἐκπιπτόντων ἀδελφῶν . . . τίς ἡ αἰτία τοῦ οὕτω ζῶντας ἀγνοῦς . . . περιπαρῆναι (sic) τῇ ἀκολασίᾳ*; It continues with an answer which is almost word for word the same as a long passage in Palladius (ed. Butler) xlii pp. 138-142, from *ταύτην οὖν ἡμῖν ἔδωκε τὴν ἀπόκρισιν Παφνούτιος* right down to *μὴ ἐγκαταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

The homily goes on, as if still expressing the doctrine of the said Paphnutius, *ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι νοῦς ἀποστὰς μνήμης Θεοῦ*: and this is seen to be almost identical with a shorter passage in Palladius (ed. Butler) lviii p. 152 beginning *ὅτι νοῦς ἀποστὰς Θεοῦ ἐννοίας* and ending *ἡ κτήνος γίνεται ἡ δαίμων*.

Next, and finally, comes a dictum introduced as the utterance of some other holy man: *ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἁγίων ὅτι πᾶσα | ὀρθὴ ψυχὴ μᾶλλον τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας καὶ θλίβοντας ἐπικερδεῖς ἡγείται ἢ τοὺς κολακεύοντας καὶ δοξάζοντας· φιλεῖ γάρ πως | ἡ ἀκολασία ἡσυχίαν καὶ ὑγίαν, καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ | εὐθηνίαν· διὸ τοιαύτη οὔσα, ἐν τοῖς λυπηροῖς ὥς | βδέλλα συστέλλεται: δόξα τῷ Θεῷ ἀμήν*:|

Now it is manifest, first, that in Palladius we have pragmatic details and contextual circumstances, under which the discourse was given. In 'Macarius', on the other hand, these marks of genuineness are absent. In fact the second λόγος is introduced as if it were a continuation of the first. There is no single thread of argument running through the homily, which is an obvious piece of botchery. In Palladius, however, the difference is accounted for by the different circumstances.

On reading the Homily one is struck by the sudden emergence of Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy. Platonic phraseology occurs; for

¹ Codex Barocci. 213 in Bodleiana.

instance, the psychological distinction between *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία*. Aristotelian catchwords are used; for instance, the allusion to Aristotle's alternative *θεός ἢ θηρίον*.¹ The phenomenon is explained when, turning to Palladius, we find that the author of this speech was a great philosopher named Diocles, who had accepted Christianity as a divine philosophy.

It may be noted, too, that in Palladius a citation is made from the Epistle to the Romans, which combines the first part of verse 21 (*γινόντες τὸν Θεόν, οὐχ ὡς Θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ὑψοχαιρίστησαν*) with the first part of verse 26 in chapter i (*παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας*). There can be no doubt that the conflation was made of set purpose: for the whole point of the author (Paphnutius) lies in maintaining that pride leads to intemperance; if a man does not give God the glory he is led into a shameful outburst of passion. The author of the homily, however, makes nonsense of the passage by pedantically restoring the original Pauline conclusion of verse 21.

There are also a number of small differences in the two texts which are explicable on the hypothesis that 'Macarius' was drawing from Palladius, but not on the contrary hypothesis. The author of the Macarius-homily² evidently conceived and carried out the idea of making a sermon out of the edifying matter scattered in the Lausiac History.

One point remains yet unsettled. The last dictum introduced as from the mouth of some other saint, and beginning *πᾶσα ὀρθὴ ψυχὴ*, I have been unable to identify. It contains a picturesque simile drawn from natural history—the habits of the leech. If any scholar would be so good as to inform me whence this tit-bit was stolen by Palladiokleptes (for so we may call the plagiarist-composer of the Homily) I should be much obliged.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

¹ ἡ κτήνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων Palladius: ἡ θυμῷ περιπίπτει ἡ ἐπιθυμία 'Macarius'.

² It is labelled Homily LIV.

THE SEVEN HOMILIES OF MACARIUS IN FLORILEGIA.

THE Seven Homilies occur in the writings of two classes of thesaurographers, first in spicilegia culled from various ascetic authors including Macarius, and, secondly, in centos composed out of Macarius exclusively. Examples of both kinds of writing are found in Bodley's. Thus, Laudianus xxi is a collection of ascetic lore culled from many divers authors. On fol. 67 *b* it quotes as τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου a long passage from one of the Seven Homilies¹ about the inferiority of Bible-reading to direct communion with God, ὁ μὲν ἑγγραπτος νόμος . . . μετὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. No other passage from Macarius is quoted. Evidently, therefore, the excerptist regarded the Seven Homilies as genuine. Canonicianus xvi and Cromwellianus vi contain excerpts taken from Macarius alone. They draw both from the Seven and from the Fifty Homilies. The passage in Homily lv 6, 7 beginning λόγον ποιῶ μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματός σου and ending ἀφανίζοντα τὸν νοῦν σου is quoted.² In immediate juxtaposition follows a passage from the Fifty Homilies³: ὁ θεὸς γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι . . . ταπεινωθεῖς. It is evident, therefore, that the centoists and thesaurographers had no shadow of doubt as to the genuineness of the Seven Homilies. In fact there is no evidence that they distinguished the Seven from the Fifty as we do. And though absence of evidence is not to be confused with evidence of absence, the suspicion naturally arises that the distinction between the collections is a comparatively modern occurrence, originally absent.

Finally, we may ask, Do the excerptists throw any light on the mysterious presence in the Seven Homilies of passages taken word for word from Palladius's *Lausiac History*? Now there is in Bodley's a collection of the Acts and Words of great ascetics,⁴ which, after quoting Macarius Homily xxvi § 12 and other profitable admonitions from other spiritual men, cites as Παλλαδίου the teaching of Diocles ὅτι νοῦς ἀποστὰς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας . . . μετὰ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, which we have already seen is one of the ingredients in the composition of Homily liv.⁵ Moreover, it is introduced not in the simple words of Palladius, ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, but in a more honorific form, ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ μακάριος. It might, therefore, be suggested that, by a common

¹ Hom. lvi §§ 6, 7.² Canon. xvi fol. 285 *b*; Cromw. vi p. 261.³ xxvi 24.⁴ Cromw. vi p. 481 ff.⁵ See preceding note.

confusion between epithet and proper name, the macarized father was taken for Saint Macarius by the redactor of the Seven Homilies. Against this supposition, however, lies the fact that the doctrine of Diocles is attributed not to Macarius, but to Paphnutius. The redactor of Macarius may have been working directly on Palladius, or he may have had to hand a composition in which the speeches of Paphnutius and Diocles had been already combined. In the former case he can have been under no delusion. In the latter case he may have thought that Macarius was one of the individuals included in the pronoun ἡμῖν. More probably, however, he saw no inconsistency in foisting in amongst the homilies of Macarius the work of other people who breathed the same desert air of self-conquest and communion with God.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

SYMEON METAPHRASTES AND THE SEVEN HOMILIES OF MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

DR OTTO BARDENHEWER in his account of Macarius of Egypt¹ commends, as a worthy subject of research, the sources on which Symeon Metaphrastes drew in composing his seven tractates on Christian Perfection. These works were attributed when first published in 1684 to Macarius, and they occur in the printed editions of Macarius as his *Opuscula*.² Since the researches of H. J. Floss however, they have been recognized as the work of Symeon Metaphrastes, who in the second half of the tenth century compiled a paraphrastic *réchauffé* out of slices from the great banquet of Macarius. The object of the present note is simply to determine the extent, if any, of Symeon's indebtedness to the Seven Homilies.

I possess evidence, both stylistic and documentary, which points in no uncertain way to the genuineness of the Seven Homilies. And if this conclusion is true, it is natural that a writer who set about excerpting the Macarian homilies should have borrowed from the Seven as well as from the Fifty. It is doubtful, however, whether we may regard citations from the Seven by Symeon as independent testimony to the Macarian origin of the Seven. For, as J. Stiglmayr³ has pointed

¹ *Gesch. der althkirchlichen Literatur* vol. iii p. 89.

² See Migne *P. G.* xxxiv 821-968.

³ *Sachliches und Sprachliches bei Makarius von Ägypten*, Innsbruck 1912 p. 7.

out, Symeon draws from a treatise of Gregory of Nyssa entitled *Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν σκοποῦ*. And we do not infer that this treatise is from the pen of Macarius.

But be that as it may, in one of the Seven Homilies—No. liii §§ 1, 2—the writer urges that a would-be imitator of Christ and Son of God must bear patiently the various afflictions which may befall him, and quotes in corroboration of his teaching Ecclesiasticus ii 1, 2. Turning to Symeon, Book VII *De Libertate Mentis* ch. 13, we find a parallel passage beginning τῷ βουλομένῳ μιμητῇ and ending ἄτερ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. Like Macarius, Symeon appeals to Ecclesiasticus ii 1, 2; and a careful comparison of the two pieces necessitates the conclusion that Symeon gives a paraphrastic rendering of Macarius. Moreover, Macarius clenches his argument by a citation from the *Didache* iii 10 τὰ ἐπιφερόμενά σοι πάντα ὡς ἀγαθὰ πρόσδεχου, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. This, be it noted, is a misquotation; τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα having been substituted for the original τὰ συμβαίοντα. Symeon, however, drawing not from the *Didache* directly, but from Macarius, repeats the error. We conclude, therefore, that Symeon Metaphrastes borrowed not only from the Fifty [published] Homilies of Macarius, but also from the Seven [as yet unpublished].

If we study the remaining portions of the Seven Tractates of Symeon, we find no such indubitable instances of borrowing from the Seven Homilies. And this negative result is as important as the positive. For the accession of seven new homilies might reasonably arouse in the minds of scholars the expectation that these contained all the sources hitherto unidentified. This, however, is not the case. The question of sources still waits for a complete answer. We have taken only one step, though it is one step, towards solving the problem propounded by Dr Bardenhewer.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL IN ST HILARY ON THE PSALMS.

THE quotations made from the Epistles of St Paul in St Hilary's works are registered with such striking incompleteness in the standard edition, that of Verona (2 vols. folio, 1730), that no real idea of the extent to which they are quoted can be obtained by the reader. In the edition of the Homilies on the Psalms, which appeared in the Vienna Corpus in 1891, and marked a real advance on its predecessor, no index of any sort is provided. For the past quarter of a century the student, who wished to find out the exact form in which St Hilary quoted the Epistles, has had to make his own index.

For various reasons this state of affairs is unsatisfactory. St Hilary is, of course, an author of first-rate importance from every point of view, that of Biblical text included. It happens also that his works are for the most part preserved in very old manuscripts, dating from the sixth century onwards. There is, therefore, a reasonable expectation that the quotations will be found exactly in the form in which he made them. Again, he is not merely the only important witness to the text of farther Gaul at his date, but there is an extreme probability that it was from his region and time that Great Britain and Ireland obtained Biblical texts which were in use in these islands for centuries after. We may expect some light to be thrown on the character of such texts by the study of St Hilary's quotations. An index of those quotations has also a value for the student of the history of interpretation: for example, the mysterious Ambrosiaster was certainly a close student of St Hilary. Finally, the index reveals what were St Hilary's favourite texts in the Epistles.

The index which follows was made for my own purposes, and it is printed here in the hope that it may save other scholars trouble. I have not meantime verified more than some of the references, but have taken them without examination from the rubrics in Zingerle's edition.¹ The number indicates the page of his edition.

¹ Sometimes certain of the numbers of pages following 'sq.' do not indicate that 'sq.' are there found.

ROMANS.

i 16 138	viii 29 285
20 252	32 332
28 105	35-37 265, 429
ii 12 653, 709	38, 39 265, 430
14 493	ix 3 333
28, 29 340	5 584
iii 25 235	8 132
29, 30 307	27 201
v 3-5 742, 747	x 4 147, 401, 547
8 166	5 334
10 49	10 90
14 70, 741	13 117
vi 4 458	15 201, 261
12 70, 707	xi 7, 9 329
vii 1-4 681	17 114
3 sq. . . . 281	22, 23 428
14 362, 382, 633	25, 26 573, 620
22 sq. . . . 360, 443, 651	27 188
23 729	33 374, 445
24 378, 448, 555	33-36 647
	36 61, 297
	609, 809, 840
viii 3 299, 319	xii 18 559, 686
9 558	19 531
19-21 860	xiii 9 538
21 174	12 sq. . . . 692
26 139, 235, 811	xv 3 322

FIRST CORINTHIANS.

i 2 711	iii 16 580-581, 618, 666, 738
4, 5 375	16, 17 238
5 244	iv 7 592
10 573, 685	8 69, 205, 289, 417
30 104, 333, 405	
ii 2 531	
8 857	9 703
9 220, 238	13 869
12 771	v 3 497
14 89, 509	5 194, 332
iii 2 373, 688	vi 2 71, 825
3 164	3 869
11 87, 732	4 589
15 200	17 222, 391
	19 516

vi 20	723	xii 26	420, 797
21	64	xiii 9	380, 600, 609, 810
vii 7	633	11	688
25	483	12	380, 571, 600, 810
27	604	xiv 15	800
viii 2	811	20	688, 821
5, 6	699, 717	37	36
6	117, 215, 584	xv 9	716
	671, 698	22	826
ix 4-6	483	22-28	77
9	286, 361	23	466
12	483	24-28	118, 257, 865
27	717	25	461
x 1, 2	703	26	118, 257
4	796	28	118
11	724	31	243, 774
13	369, 512	33	550
21	329	41	237, 415, 770
31	27	42	68
32, 33	129	48	582
33	211	49	459, 708
xi 29	632	51	130, 159, 343, 466
xii 7	480	53	119, 202, 247
8-10	237	54-56	796

SECOND CORINTHIANS.

i 3, 4	447	vi 2	324, 503
ii 15, 16	265, 687	12	416
iii 3	509	14	770
18	427	16	398, 416, 425, 581 <i>bis</i>
iv 8	416	viii 9	334, 788
v 2	809	ix 7	693
4	248	xi 23-25	638
8	204, 243, 382	29	534
10	179	xii 7	386, 481
19	308, 581	9	438
21	321	xiii 4	138

GALATIANS.

i 10	129	iii 11	334
15	285	12	334
ii 19	774	13	145
20	204, 243, 426	19	737
	463, 771	23-26	345

iii 28	630	v 15	126, 171
iv 6	523	19 sq.	612
19	678, 770	vi 1	794
21-23	361	8	612, 644
24	362, 773	11	523
25, 26	599	14	100, 424
26	234	16	565, 712, 867

EPHESIANS.

i 3-5	204, 270, 305	iii 1	264
	352, 633, 871	4-6	76, 765
9	30	5-6	353
21	719	8-9	76
23	643	iv 8-10	172
ii 2	498, 639	9-10	294
5, 6	599	13	688
13	532	18	408
14	604, 707, 793	26	234
15	793	v 18	196
17	254	32	765
19, 20	570	vi 12	489, 639, 692, 820
20	529		

PHILIPPIANS.

i 21	463	ii 11	276, 335
23	555, 610, 809	iii 5	402
ii 2	685	8	82, 352
5-8	479	12	73, 81, 352, 359
6-11	62, 624, 755, 817	13	641
8-11	138, 748	19	126, 781
9	204, 683	20, 21	548, 599, 682, 804
9-11	256, 280, 596	21	30, 391, 513
	760, 804	iv 7	578
10-11	224, 662		

COLOSSIANS.

i 13	196	ii 13-15	298
15-17	58, 348, 609, 861	14	654
17	351	15	277, 816
20	174, 816	17	361
21 sq.	352	22, 23	89
24	328	iii 3, 4	379
25-27	765	5	774
ii 9	351	9, 10	458, 652
12	328	iv 6	91

FIRST THESSALONIANS.

iv 14	.	.	.	.	623	|	v 5	.	.	.	.	558
16	.	.	.	.	110	|	17	.	.	.	.	27

SECOND THESSALONIANS.

ii 8 . . . 796

FIRST TIMOTHY.

i 20	.	.	.	.	497	|	iv 14	.	.	.	.	413
ii 1	.	.	.	.	790	|	v 6	.	.	.	.	283
8	.	.	.	.	791	|	11	.	.	.	.	282
iii 6	.	.	.	.	387	|	21	.	.	.	.	363, 486
15	.	.	.	.	115, 237, 685	|	vi 15	.	.	.	.	717

SECOND TIMOTHY.

i 15	.	.	.	.	497	|	iii 14, 15	.	.	.	.	355
ii 5	.	.	.	.	638	|	iv 8	.	.	.	.	638
iii 12	.	.	.	.	455	|						

HEBREWS.

i 14	.	.	.	.	653	|	x 1	.	.	.	.	724
iii 14	.	.	.	.	432	|	xii 22	.	.	.	.	81, 87, 643
vii 27	.	.	.	.	145	|	22, 23	.	.	.	.	306, 600

A. SOUTER.

NOTES ON ORIGEN AND EUSEBIUS.

1. AMONG the fragments of Origen published by Gallandi from Venice MSS. (*Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. xiv) is one on Mt. xxvii 45, anonymous in his MS. This is clearly largely drawn from Origen's Commentary on Matthew, here extant only in an abridged Latin version; but the bulk of it is from Chrysostom's Commentary (Hom. 88). The first part of the fragment is mainly from Origen, possibly including some phrases where the Latin (Series 134) has nothing corresponding. Then comes a long passage from Chrysostom, then some more Origen, then a passage which may be his, then some more Chrysostom.

In Cramer's *Catena* there is a similar composite quotation at this point. Much in the two notes is the same, but Cramer's is shorter, and has more of Chrysostom. Both apparently use some writer, or *catena*, which combined these two writers.

The Origen portions include a reference to Phlegon. The Latin runs 'Et Phlegon quidem in Chronicis suis scripsit in principatu Tiberi Caesaris factum, sed non significavit in luna plena hoc factum'. The Greek in Gallandi begins καὶ Φλέγων δέ τις παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλόσοφος μέμνηται τούτου τοῦ σκοτούς ὡς παραδόξως γεγενημένου ἐν τῇ ἰδ' τῆς σελήνης, ὅτε οὐ πέφυκεν ἔκλειψις γίνεσθαι . . . Probably both Latin and Greek are abridgements of the original.

2. Eusebius's *Eclogae Propheticae*—really Books 6–9 of his *General Elementary Introduction*—comprise comments on Messianic Prophecies. They were published by Gaisford in 1842 from the unique MS. at Vienna.

I have not seen it noticed that Book II, dealing with passages in the Psalms, is very incomplete. It is much less than half the length of any of the other three books. Chapters 1–13 deal with Psalms 1–21 (22); 14–18 with Psalms 131 (2)–150. Thus very many Psalms are omitted, including some which Eusebius was very likely to handle, as he does elsewhere—e.g. 69 and 72. On close examination of ch. 13 it is seen that the final sentence has no connexion with the rest. Eusebius's treatment of Psalm 21 (22) does not go beyond v. 19; what follows really belongs to the last part of Ps. 117 (118), 'Hosanna'—with this compare *Dem. Ev.* vi 8 p. 266, ix 18 p. 459. Thus a large part of the book, from the middle of Ps. 21 (22) to near the end of Ps. 117 (118) is lost. The break occurs at the end of f. 22 v. in the MS.; f. 23 begins with the fragment of Ps. 117. Hence a predecessor of the MS. had clearly lost a number of leaves at this point.

Eusebius's treatment of Messianic Prophecies is, however, well represented in the *Demonstration of the Gospel* and his Commentary on the Psalms.

HAROLD SMITH.

REVIEWS

Concerning Prayer: its nature, its difficulties, and its value. By H. B. STREETER and others. (Macmillan & Co., 1916.)
Self-Training in Prayer. By the Rev. A. H. McNEILE, D.D. (Heffer, Cambridge, 1916.)

THIS volume is, we are told, the result of conferences between 'a lady, three laymen, two parish clergymen, two clerical dons—all Anglicans—a Wesleyan theological tutor, a Congregational minister, and an American professor belonging to the Society of Friends'. Now a literary symposium doubtless gives great pleasure to the participants, but, especially when, as in this case, the essays vary as widely in value as the writers do in status, it causes much perplexity to a reviewer. Is he to adopt an absolute standard and judge each individual contribution on its own merits; or is he rather to consider the general effect of the concerted effort upon the problem under discussion? Probably the latter course is what the essayists themselves would prefer, for they are all evidently moved by one spirit, all aim at one ultimate object, all are seeking Truth. Further, although the arrangement and the order of the items seem somewhat arbitrary, it is not impossible to pick out certain threads which hold the book together and give it a kind of unity. There is, for instance, a general, undisguised dissatisfaction with the existing conditions and practice of religion in England (less noticeable perhaps in the Nonconformist than in the Anglican essays); there is repeated insistence, most welcome and timely, on the imperative need of recovering for Christianity the sense of its final purpose, viz. the establishment of God's kingdom upon earth; there is agreement on the essentially altruistic character of Christian prayer. Mr Edwyn Bevan, it is true, sounds a warning against the obscuration of the petitionary aspect of prayer, to which too great emphasis on its mystical quality may lead. 'Prayer', he says, 'is by the very definition of the term petitionary. . . . Prayer is just the petitionary part of worship.' Mr Bevan's essay is, like everything he writes, admirably clear and scholarly. But it ends somewhat abruptly, and it reads as if it had been 'edited'. The thesis is important enough to deserve larger treatment.

But after all most people know by instinct that prayer is petition; the other aspect is what they chiefly need to learn, and therefore we welcome the repeated reference to it here, especially in the article on

'Prayer and the Mystic Vision'. Apart from the eloquent passages in which Mr Rufus Jones urges this theme, the confidence and companionship with God procured by prayer, the entry into intimate relation with Him, are expressed again and again by other contributors in the language of sincerity, born of personal experience, and for this reason alone the book has a present value. For we believe the editor to be quite mistaken when he says in his preface that the call to prayer which has been and is being made has met with little response. On the contrary, we see men everywhere eager to pray and only asking for help and direction. Both will be found in these pages.

There is besides much other matter. The title of the collection might indeed be *De oratione et quibusdam aliis rebus*, and the connexion with prayer is not always immediately apparent. But 'que faire en un gîte à moins que l'on ne songe?' What is a confabulation for except to air one's notions and nostrums? So the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* repeats the charges laid by that volume against our penal system and the recommendations for its remedy; Mr H. Anson puts in a plea for Faith-Healing; Mr R. G. Collingwood offers a new and ingenious theory of the Devil; Canon Streeter makes many interesting and some new suggestions on liturgical reform.

Digressions and excursions are excusable in a work of this character, and on the whole the balance between speculation and practice is very well maintained. On the philosophical side the most important contributions are Canon Streeter's 'God and the World', Mr Collingwood's 'Devil' already referred to, and Mr A. C. Turner's 'The World-Plan'. This last is the longest of them, and much the best written. Mr Turner comes near to the shipwreck of which he foresees the danger, in dealing with the question of Providence (he might with advantage read Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophiae* lib. iv and v); but there is profundity as well as felicity of expression in his essay, and it is to be hoped he will not let his pen lie idle.

Three essays in particular, 'Worship' by Canon Streeter, 'The Eucharist' by Mr C. H. S. Matthews and Mr N. Micklem, bring the Anglican reader to a problem which will soon be calling for solution. How can our own worship be improved? And reflexion upon them makes it clear that the improvement which is so desirable must be in some way connected with the Office of Holy Communion. The question is, how? Shall we borrow from the Quaker Meeting and from Low Mass the practice of silent prayer, which, as Canon Streeter observes, has so little place in our services? Shall we be bold and, counting the cost, encourage 'Frequent Communion'? The present crisis when, as perhaps never before, the English race is learning amid tears of sorrow and rejoicing the beauty of sacrifice and the power of union, offers an

opportunity for pointing out and harmonizing the two features of the Eucharist which are so well put by Mr Matthews and Mr Micklem. We wish the editor had seen his way to concentrate attention on this point and mediate between High Church and Free Church views which are not contradictory but complementary. Mr Matthews indeed in his final period finely says 'never will the Eucharist be rightly understood or its power really appropriated until communicants realize far more vividly than they have in the past the social character of the life of love to which they have dedicated themselves by participation in the sacrament'; but Mr Micklem is able to emphasize the fellowship of believers all the more forcibly in that he founds his all-too-brief essay on the assertion, familiar to students of Hooker, that the sermon is on a higher level than the sacrament.¹ It ought not to be impossible for men of good will who are seeking the same blessing from a divine ordinance to discover that they are in contact at least as often as they are at a difference.

Returning for a moment to Canon Streeter, I venture to question the wisdom of his insistence on the *necessity* (the italics are his) of substituting some other confession for the present form in the Communion Service, 'the language of which cannot be used by most people without a feeling of insincerity' (p. 291). There seems to be a connexion of sympathy between the remark and the passage on 'traditional penitence' by another writer, who deprecates the expenditure of energy on self-upbraiding (pp. 161 ff). But surely in the matter of repentance, felt or expressed, the tone cannot be pitched too high. And at the Eucharist the level cannot be too low from which we lift up our hearts. Thousands are moved by the Confession of 1548, whom the form from the Sarum Compline, recommended as a substitute by Canon Streeter, would leave cold. It is dangerous in religion to tamper with the ideal in matters great or small; ecclesiastical history is full of object-lessons to this effect, and any suggestion of an easier way makes one anxious.

Good as the book is as a whole, there is more than one lacuna in the presentation of its subject. Thus (1) there is no separate essay on Prayer in the New Testament; (2) the line between meditation and prayer is nowhere quite clearly drawn; (3) there is no reference to the practice of invoking departed saints, against which a considered warning is to-day much needed; (4) there is no gathering up of ideas into a final synthesis. On the positive side there are several questionable statements besides those already noticed. For instance, there are two points of very doubtful exegesis. 'The Hebrew imagination pictured God as dwelling in regal splendour in a far-off luminous Heaven remote from

¹ It is worth noting that Bossuet puts them side by side. Cf. *Sur la parole de Dieu*.

suffering and pain; and though even in the Old Testament another note is struck at times (Isaiah lxiii 9) it is only very rarely' (p. 34). This is surely most misleading. The guiding thought and central wonder of the Old Testament is that the Lord who made Heaven and the Heaven of heavens and is worshipped by their hosts, should have seen the affliction of His people and come down to deliver them (cf. Nehemiah ix 9 ff). Again, to say that 'any element of what we should call "personal moral guilt" was a late addition to the Hebrew notion which we translate "sin"' (p. 142) is to forget Genesis iv (esp. v 13).

In the sphere of moral philosophy we see a tendency on the part of two separate writers to derive wrong-doing from a sense of superiority. 'The roots of persecution lie in the attribution of moral inferiority to those who differ from us in any opinion we hold to be righteous' (p. 153). 'The essence of crime is the pride of Lucifer, the feeling of nobility and exaltation, of superiority to convention and vulgar prejudice' (p. 466). We believe this to be false psychology. Persecution is generally due to distorted sense of duty, and the wrong deed is as often as not done against our better self. Cf. Romans vii 15 ff.

Finally, the optimistic picture of humanity following 'the natural laws of its own healthy development' (p. 180) is one that requires a good deal of explanation.

There are a couple of misprints on pp. 35 and 86 which will doubtless be corrected in the second edition which the book fully deserves; and there is a misleading note on p. 244. That life should be *μία προσευχή συναπτομένη* was indeed realized in the case of Origen, but it was his own ideal for every saint. Cf. *De orat.* § 12.

A word may be added to this review, commending to all those who are interested in the deepening of religious life through prayer the little book *Self-Training in Prayer*, by Dr McNeile (Heffer, Cambridge, 1916). There is plenty of theology behind its studied simplicity, and most of the essential features of Christian prayer are touched upon with a sure hand. Prayer as 'a deliberate act of our whole being making real to ourselves the divine Reality'; unrepented sin the chief bar to effectual prayer; the power of influence; the meaning of priesthood—such are the main themes of these sixty pages, which will be found helpful to many who want to learn how to pray.

H. F. STEWART.

The Church and the New Knowledge. By E. M. CAILLARD. (Longmans, Green and Co., 1915.)

THE first five chapters seem to me the most interesting part of this volume in the 'Layman's Library'. In them Miss Caillard has done good service by bringing together within a small compass the results of modern scientific investigation and psychological theory in their bearing on man's physical system and his mental processes and potentialities. On these results she sets great hopes for the humanity of the future, granted an adequate moral ideal and dynamic; for, as she points out in respect of physical purity, the mere knowledge of the evil results of vice is not a sufficient deterrent. The suggestions of an order beyond that of nature, hinted at by science, are confirmed by Christianity, which further supplies what is needful in power and inspiration, if man is to have communion with that order. Miss Caillard's Christianity is of the Alexandrine rather than of the Augustinian type: sin appears in her pages as an obstacle rather than as guilt, Christ as the Ideal Man who has shewn to men the true way, which it is open for them also to take: at the same time Miss Caillard does not reduce the historic incarnation to a supreme example of divine immanence. She makes much of the social side of Christianity without forgetting the importance of the individual, and in her remarks on physical health and the 'Redemption of the Body' avoids the extremes to which her general point of view can rather easily lead. Miss Caillard is not a rigorous thinker, at least in theology, but it is quite possible that this volume may save some of those who like the kind of outlook presented in it from drifting away into quackery or but nominally Christian systems.

J. K. MOZLEY.

THE NATIONAL MISSION AND THE CREED.

New Tracts on the Apostles' Creed. Edited by H. S. HOLLAND, D.D., V. H. STANTON, D.D., and G. K. A. BELL, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 1916.)

THE National Mission has elicited a number of excellent tracts on various subjects, particularly, I think, those which deal with the application of Christian ideals to the present conditions of common life in the world, such as Mr Lansbury's *My faith and hope in view of the National*

Mission, Dr Helen Wilson's *The Causes of Prostitution*, and the admirable reprint from *The Round Table* entitled *The Harvest of the War*. The purpose served by such tracts as these is obvious, if the Mission is to prepare the way for the Christianization of human life which is, to some of us at least, the meaning of the Kingdom of God on earth, to the coming of which we look forward.

But it is difficult to find a standard by which to estimate the value of the fourteen 'New Tracts on the Apostles' Creed', for which notice in the JOURNAL is requested. They must, I suppose, be regarded as emergency tracts. But it is not clear what the emergency is which they are designed to meet. Some of them have evidently been very hurriedly written: one at least reads as if it had been dictated to an amanuensis at a sitting and not considered in proof by any one. Yet, besides a general editor, there are two supervising editors. I suppose there must have been a general scheme for the whole series and some definite purpose to be kept in view; yet consciousness of a common aim seems lacking in the writers. Of course the different articles of the Creed lend themselves to different methods of treatment, but it seems to me a pity that more unity of purpose should not have been secured. As it is, all the tracts have excellence in one way or another (as would be expected from the writers' names), but the ways are different, and after quietly reading and pondering them all, I wish that the whole series had been put into commission and entrusted to three or four of the writers jointly. I think I can best fulfil the duty of a reviewer of the tracts as they are by comparison with the ideal tracts which they suggest to me.

Thus: it being understood that all 'modernism' was to be carefully excluded, a really valuable series might easily have been produced by a few of the present writers, if, for example, Dr Strong and the Bishop of Down had not only written, respectively, an excellent 'foreword' on 'Faith', saying what is well worth saying for the 'simple folk' for whom one begins by supposing the tracts are meant, and a much less simple, but admirably lucid, tract on 'God', suited to much more 'intellectual' people—if one of them had seen to the philosophy or the psychology of the matter in *every* article: if the Bishop of Ely and Dr Swete had applied the careful and illuminating treatment of Scripture which distinguishes their tracts (on the Ascension and the Judgement) to all the articles instead of only to two of them: if Dr Stanton had not only supervised (?) but actually written what may be called the historical setting of each article with the same breadth and restraint which he has used in his tract on the article 'born of the Virgin Mary': and then if one of the other writers—or any one who had really given his mind to it—would have explained in the language of to-day what is the

distinctive religious value of each particular article in the whole unity of the Christian Creed, what it really means for present-day thought and life.

Each of these things is well done as regards one article or another, but never all of them together; and the last, which I should suppose to be of fundamental importance in connexion with the National Mission is sometimes either almost ignored or the least successfully attempted.

Finally, my ideal tracts would have had an Editor who not only reflected but was actually invested, for the moment at least, with archiepiscopal authority, whose duty it should have been to see that the scheme was carried out. We should then have had in each of the tracts the various excellences which, as it is, are to be found distributed unevenly over the whole collection.

This Editor would, I conceive, have thankfully left the tracts by Dr Strong, the Bishop of Down, and Dr Stanton almost as they are, and possibly (not without some hesitation, I think) Dr Nairne's; and he need not have made many changes in those by Mr Malden, Mr Parsons, and Mr Mozley; though the latter would have been warned off the phrase 'it is evident' and other unguarded assertions in matters uncertain (some of these, indeed, as belonging to the province of the textual critic and the exegete would have been dealt with by the exegetical experts).

This Editor would have ruthlessly cut out two paragraphs in Dr Holland's tract (pp. 4 and 5) in which the Scriptural *data* as to the Appearances of our Lord (and those exclusively Johannine) are treated with amazing licence to serve an uncontrolled play of fancy; and on p. 9 of the same tract he would have brought some kind of order out of the chaos of thought and expression (the personification of 'Evidence' and the riot of 'it's and 'they's) from which the one clear statement that emerges at present is 'positively' contrary to the facts, viz. the statement that our authorities 'are one and all positively agreed' that the Risen Body bore the marks of the Passion in hands and side.

Further, he would not have allowed Dr Goudge, whatever the general merits of his tract on 'The Holy Trinity', to indulge his love of paradox so far as to 'boldly affirm' that he is stating 'the simple truth', when he maintains (p. 16) that 'the Athanasian Creed itself is a monument of that respect for facts and dislike for abstract speculation which the Church shares with the Christian Englishman' and that 'the Church gives it to us just in order that, as the Englishman desires, we may have a religion of the heart, and not (*sic*) of the head'. Nor do I think he would have passed, standing in a single tract in the series, the statement that 'we are concerned with what the Creed means, and not (*sic*) with

what it may have meant when it was written'. If this principle was to be admitted at all, it ought to have controlled the treatment of the whole subject.

In view of the fullness and 'brilliance' of Dr Figgis's suggestive Notes on 'The Church' (which furnish materials for a whole course of Lectures), our Editor might have printed them in lieu of the expected Tract; but he would certainly have toned down the note of pugnacity which now and then resounds in them.

Similarly Mr Thornton's tract, excellent as it is on many points (the social effect of individual shortcomings and sin, for instance), would have contained something more as to what 'Forgiveness' is; and the note on p. 14, which suggests that the Exhortation in the Order of Holy Communion has in view a special class of priests to receive confessions, would not have been allowed to stand. The words to be said by the Priest or the Minister ('Let him come to me, or to *some other* discreet and learned Minister of God's Word') imply that every parish priest is sufficiently 'discreet and learned' to receive confessions from his parishioners and to bestow on them 'comfort and absolution' (Order of Communion 1548 onwards).

I think also that the Bishop of Ely would have been asked to consider whether the Ascension of our Lord did not stand for something more intimately touching our own lives and hopes, as well as for what he finds in it; whether it has no relation to the course of our Lord's own human experience in His life on earth as the triumphant goal of the discipline through which He passed (e.g. Heb. v 8), so as to represent the ascent of redeemed Humanity to God and to be the surety of the fulfilment of the divine purpose in the creation of Man.

Dr Swete, too, while still basing his exposition on the traditional picture of the Last Day and the Great Assize (at which he is careful to remind us that the Judge is to be One who is Himself Man), would, I am sure, easily have been induced to interpret 'the symbolical descriptions which the New Testament supplies' so as to bring home to his readers the fact that belief in 'Jesus Christ as Judge' (He being Himself Man) means belief in the possibility of attaining a much higher standard of actual life in the world, social as well as individual, than the world thinks possible: Jesus as Man in actual life represents the scale of moral values by which all human life is to be appraised, its sternness and its mercy.

And Mr Rawlinson, while assured of full appreciation of parts of his tract on 'The Communion of Saints', would have been set to clear his mind as to the relation between prayers for the departed and petitions for their prayers, and he would not have been left to suggest that the practice most accordant with the mind of the Church of

England is prayer to God that He will move the Saints to pray to Him for us.

I hope that this method of review indicates sufficiently what in my judgement are the merits and the defects of the series of tracts as a whole, and why I feel that the greatness of the opportunity has not been clearly enough realized.

J. F. B-B.

St Gregory of Nyssa *The Life of St Macrina*. By W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D. (S.P.C.K., 1916.)

St Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* (two volumes). By F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1916.)

THESE three latest volumes of the 'Early Church Classics' fully maintain the high level of excellence of earlier volumes of the series.

In publishing, with a short but sufficient 'introduction', the first English translation of the *Vita Macrinae*, Mr Lowther Clarke will bring to the knowledge of many fresh readers one of the most attractive bits of Christian biography ever written. He has wisely allowed himself some liberty in dealing with the rather stilted opening pages of the tract, and in his version as a whole he seems to me to have succeeded very happily in a difficult task—though it must also have been a very pleasant one. There can seldom, if ever, have been a more distinguished family than that to which Basil and Gregory and Macrina belonged, and the tract gives us a charming picture not only of Macrina herself (betrothed as a girl to a young man of great promise who died in youth, insisting on keeping faith with the bridegroom who was not dead but 'away', and devoting herself to the ascetic life as head of one of the double monasteries which her brother Basil fostered), but also of her mother and the other members of the family, including one of the brothers who managed to combine the ascetic life in the wilds with fishing and hunting expeditions, in one of which he and his gillie met their death. The narrative of Gregory's visit to his 'great' sister on the eve of her death, their conversation, her final prayer, the sisters' lament for their abbess, the all-night vigil, and the burial service, concluding with the soldier's story of the cure of his little daughter's ailment wrought by the holy Macrina by 'the true drug which cures disease' (viz. 'the healing that comes from prayer') is a narrative that constitutes a piece of such intimate history—giving so much information as to the thought and life of the period—that we may well share Mr Clarke's surprise 'that a story of antiquity, so charmingly told and full of human interest, should have attracted so little attention'.

The treatise of Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* is undoubtedly, as Dr Hitchcock says, one of the most important 'remains' of the Early Church. But though it is true that 'no early Christian writer has deserved better of the whole Church than Irenaeus' (Dr Swete), it must be confessed that his treatise as a whole is not of the kind which we should expect to find translated in a series intended for wide circulation to-day. Yet there is so much in it that is of general interest, as well as of high value to students of Christian Theology, that a volume of select passages would be sure of welcome. Dr Hitchcock's two volumes may not find as many readers as a single volume of extracts might have had. But to theological students they will be much more useful, inasmuch as the whole work is here presented with the principal passages in full and summaries of the intervening portions. Notes also are given, rather sparingly, which will be of use—even perhaps those which hit at modern 'Christian Science' as represented by Mrs Eddy and Mrs Besant. Criticism on points of text and other details must be made, if at all, in connexion with a less popular edition. In preparing these two volumes Dr Hitchcock has certainly done a good work.

J. F. B-B.

La Bibbia: Introduzione all' antico e al nuovo Testamento. By L. SALVATORELLI, ed E. HÜHN. (Remo Sandron—Editore Milano-Palermo-Napoli-Genova-Bologna, N.D.)

THIS book is a compressed and re-written edition in Italian of E. Hühn's work published in German in 1904-5 in four small volumes under the title *Hilfsbuch zum Verständnis der Bibel*. The reviewer is not acquainted with the work in its original form, but it seems to have gained by its transformation into an Italian book. It is lucidly written and pleasant to read, elementary, but good of its kind.

It hardly calls for a lengthy notice in the JOURNAL, for it cannot be called a fair specimen of Italian Biblical Criticism. The essential character of the book remains German. Even the bibliography, which contains some additions by the Italian editor, is substantially a German list. The book should be useful in Italy as representing in a convenient form criticism of the Bible—not the most extreme—as it stood in Germany in 1904 or a year or two earlier, but it does not tell English students anything which they have not heard from Teutonic sources.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity: Being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D. By F. LEGGE, F.S.A. Two vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1915.)

'ALL great religious movements', says Dean Stanley, 'which run parallel, even though counter to Christianity, form a necessary part of Ecclesiastical History.' The religions contemporary with any period of the history of Christianity form not merely a background against which the Church acts and reacts, but are intimately interwoven with the story of its development. This is especially true of the religious movements contemporary with the infancy of Christianity, and therefore, though it scarcely touches on the relation of Graeco-Oriental paganism to Catholic Christianity, the title of this book is justified. Perhaps the history of the religions, which prepared for and competed with early Christianity, is the best apology that could be written for the Catholic Church. Mr Legge concludes his studies with the thought that the final victory of Christianity in her conflict with these religions, which mingled confusedly the sublime with the puerile and the morbid, could only be 'because she was better fitted to the needs of the world than any of her predecessors or contemporaries'.

One outstanding merit of the book is the framework of general history within which its story is unfolded. Not only does Mr Legge prefix a table of the dates of the chief events from Alexander the Great to Constantine, and appreciate in an introductory chapter the importance of the former in the history of Religions, but also he sketches the general tendencies of which each religion he describes was the particular outcome. Moreover, his horizon is not bounded by the limits of his work: for instance, the religion of the Manichaeans is illustrated from the records of the Inquisition. The great bulk of the book is devoted to the Gnostic systems, their precursors and allied developments, but the book begins with an account of the religion of Isis and ends with an account of Mithraism, the two mystery cults which predominated respectively in the first and the last half of this period. In his treatment of the latter the author departs somewhat from Cumont's classical presentment, not on very substantial grounds.¹

¹ He rejects Cumont's identification of the lion-headed monster found in the Mithraic crypts with Zervan Acerana and equates him with Ahriman cast out from Paradise and 'the chief of the rulers of this world'. A comparison of Mithraism with Freemasonry is illuminating and helps to explain the exclusion of women and the absence of any organized hierarchy, which contrasted the Persian with the Egyptian mysteries. Mr Legge rightly emphasizes the tendency of all paganism in these centuries 'towards a religion which should include and conciliate all others', though he scarcely appreciates its importance in the history of Gnosticism.

Gnosticism represents partly a reaction against, partly an exploitation of, magic and astrology. The Fathers were probably right in referring its invention as a coherent system to Simon Magus. Mr Legge selects for detailed treatment two typical systems, the Ophite and the Valentinian, which adequately represent all the characteristics of Gnosticism in its lower and higher forms, and perhaps actually absorbed all the lesser sects. Valentinus appears deliberately to have amended and given coherence to the vague mythology of the Ophites.¹

Both systems in different degrees acted as a bridge from paganism to Christianity. The Ophites were separatists who frequented without scruple the mysteries of the Great Mother, and inevitably split up into innumerable sects named after their founders: the Ophite system appealed to the uneducated. Valentinus, on the other hand, was rather the founder of a school and attracted the rich and educated, not only by his more reflective doctrines and the pastoral teaching of himself and his disciples, which often attained great beauty, but also by his recommendation of compliance with the demands of the pagan authorities rather than submission to persecution: he himself, perhaps, never separated from the Church, and later his followers in Egypt attempted to found a church within the church, which anticipates the semi-independence of the monks of the Thebaid.

Mr Legge rightly refuses to refer the manifold phenomena of Gnosticism to a single origin. The Ophites seem to have borrowed their characteristic ideas from the religions of Asia Minor: the cosmogony of Valentinus approximates to that of the Orphics. The contemporary Stoic theory of the origin of the world and the soul deviates little in essentials from Gnosticism. Valentinianism underwent a gradually increasing influence from the religion of Egypt, which is illustrated from the literary history of the *Pistis Sophia* and its related texts, the only primary sources we possess for the history of Gnosticism. Since it is quoted by Tertullian, the *Pistis Sophia* was probably an authentic work of Valentinus, into which Egyptian elements were interpolated: the later books are completely overshadowed by the gloomy terrorism of the Egyptian topography of Hades. Nevertheless there is an Ariadne's thread to guide us through the labyrinth of the Gnostic mythologies: the central doctrine of salvation, the ascent of the soul through the seven planets and the frustration of the tyranny of the planetary spirits, can be traced to the reaction of the conquering

¹ He attributes the creation of the world by the fall of Sophia not to an accident, but to an emanation: syzygies, or pairs of male and female aeons, are substituted for the bisexual aeons of the Ophites. Jesus becomes the product of the joint contribution of all the powers of the pleroma: the possibility of progress from the material to the spiritual is replaced by a rigid predestinarianism.

Persians against the astral religion of Babylon. The Gnostic hierarchy of personified attributes of God has its prototype in the Amshaspands of Zoroaster. Orphicism and Essenism, the forerunners of Gnosticism, were both exposed to Persian influences.

With the problem of the influence of the Mystery Religions upon the Earliest Christianity the author does not deal, since it hardly comes within the scope of his work. But a consideration of the closely related question, to what extent Gnosticism was a Christian heresy, might have assisted his argument and corrected certain errors. Did the Gnostics simply adopt a few elements of Christianity with the object of supporting their alien doctrines by the organization of the Christian Church? Or did they recognize an affinity and harmony of thought in Christianity, and especially Paulinism, which enabled them to reinterpret and exaggerate the Christian theory of salvation? The conception of the powers of evil in Jewish Apocalyptic differed little from the Gnostic conception, and Mr Legge emphasizes the priority of the idea of ἀποκατάστασις or 'the completion of this Aeon' to the redemption of individual souls in all post-Christian Gnostic systems. But an anti-Semitic bias disfigures his account of the Jewish Messianic hope—he attributes Jewish Apocalyptic almost entirely to the Essenes—and renders it the most superficial part of his book. The hostility of the Jews to the Gentiles was dictated not by a desire for national aggrandizement, but by jealousy for the honour of God and a sense that the material civilization of the Greek world was an offence against it. Secondly, the counter-arguments which the Christian controversialists opposed to Gnosticism, are a good criterion of the trustworthiness of their testimony. Irenaeus alone erected a theory of salvation which vindicated Christianity as a historical religion and safeguarded it against the dangers of Gnosticism, and he alone seems to have understood the systems he controverts.

Marcionism and Manichaeism, with studies of which the book concludes, are extremes which meet. Both are characterized by an absolute dualism and its consequent, puritanism. But the puritanism of the former was an antiseptic of paganism, whereas the motive of Manichaeism was a pagan myth of the imprisonment of light. The Manichaeans in Turfan accommodated themselves to the dominant Buddhism, just as in Europe they conciliated their system to Christianity. By an irony of history, the Marcionites, when their church was suppressed by the successors of Constantine, recognized their affinity and went over to the Manichaeans. Mr Legge's account of Manichaeism, embodying the results of recent research and the discoveries in Turkestan, the most notable of which is a penitential confession, is perhaps the most valuable portion of his book.

Since the plan of the book is well conceived, it is unfortunate that the execution is so unequal. Perhaps the bewildering mythologies of the Gnostics do not lend themselves to a graceful presentment, but this is no excuse for ugly neologisms and occasional solecisms. 'Homophagous' (vol. ii p. 63), apparently an adjective formed from the ὁμοφαγία of the Orphics, is an example of both faults. In spite of this defect of style, which improves towards the end, the excellent index and the elaborate footnotes render the book a valuable work of reference. The Germans are curiously absent from an otherwise exhaustive bibliography.

G. N. L. HALL.

Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum auctore Tyrannio Rufino.

Edited by ERNEST F. MORISON, D.D. (Methuen, 1916.)

A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed by Tyrannius Rufinus. Translated by the same. (Methuen, 1916.)

If candidates for ordination are to have their learnedness in the Latin tongue tested by an examination in the Commentary of Rufinus on the Apostle's Creed, it is well that they should have in their hands a carefully edited and annotated text and a good translation. These Dr Morison has supplied. There was Heurtley, to be sure, who printed the text in his (at the time) invaluable *De Fide et Symbolo* in 1866, and twenty years later translated the contents of that little manual; but Heurtley did not annotate. He sometimes expostulated. Dr Morison's notes give much that will be helpful. In a few instances they are lacking. For example, there is no note on the extraordinarily interesting word *sacramentum*, which would have been welcome on iv 12; the astronomical origin of the phoenix fable, and a word or two about the Egyptian hieroglyph (also a phoenix, but a palm-tree) which stood for the world-era ushering in a 'resurrection', or 'restitution of all things', might have been inserted on xi 13; *servata virginitate* is scantily treated on x 25; and the same remark applies to the symbolism of the water and the blood from the pierced side on xxiii 1; nothing is said about Rufinus's false exegesis of the Baptist's question, xxiii 6; nor of the influence of heresy in aiding in the formation of the Canon, xxxvi 23; nor of the meaning of the word 'Canon' itself, and its manifold uses, xxxvii 17. A caution should have been given as to Rufinus's rather confused explanations of the 'resurrection of this flesh'; and on the use of the sign of the cross a reference to Tertullian *de corona* 3 should be added, xliii 21. On page 13 (ix 14) read 'Evangeliiis': on page 76 (xxviii 12) read 'derelinques'; and on page 84 in the note on 17, line 3, some word has dropped out between 'little' and 'Amphilochius'.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

Through the Jews to God: a Challenge. By S. C. KIRKPATRICK, S. Th. (S.P.C.K., 1916.)

THE purpose of this book is to stimulate Christians to study the faith of the Jews and Jews to study the faith of Catholic Christianity. In the preface we read: 'The twentieth century is the time for testing values, and in the fight against materialism Christianity and Judaism are equally concerned. Can we not, therefore, draw together staunch Jew and staunch Christian and work for a kingdom of God which shall conquer the world?' The publishers advertise it as 'a history of the Jewish people down to the present day', which is both less and more than a just description. The writer 'has spent a long time in the Ghetto and has had special opportunities of appreciating the Jewish point of view': she or he is more concerned with the present and the future of Jewry than with its past, and the wide range of topics treated is perhaps the direct outcome of evangelistic work among the Jews in such places as Petticoat Lane (alias Wentworth Street, E.), a photograph of which faces page 133. The book 'does not profess to be much more than a compilation', but it is informed with something of the wistful passion of St Paul:—'By their lapse salvation comes to the gentiles that the gentiles should provoke them to emulation. If then this their lapse is a priceless advantage to the world . . . much more priceless shall be their state of achievement. . . . If their rejection is the reconciling of the world can their acceptance be other than life from the dead?'¹

The first chapter describes *the Promised Land*, beginning with Physical Features ('the scenery pictured in the Old Testament has been described by Highlanders, by men who, for the most part, looked down the valleys of Palestine or over its plains') and ending with a question, 'what of the future?'

The second traces the *origin and dispersion of the Hebrews* from the Semites to Jews in England, Italy, Poland, Russia, India, and China, concluding with the dilemma, Nationality or world-wide spiritual influence.

The third enumerates the *Sources of Judaism* from the Law, which was given *in love*, through the Talmud to the Liturgy from which our Lord seems to quote the *Hear O Israel*—the daily confession of immemorial faith in which each individual takes upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven.

¹ Rom. xi 11 ff (W. G. Rutherford's translation).

The fourth chapter deals with *Divisions within Judaism* from Sadducees and Pharisees to Reform and Literal Judaism and Zionists.

The fifth with *Doctrine, Custom, and Ritual*, containing a reference to the 'beautiful custom of "making friends" before the Day of Atonement':—I remember the Christian caretaker of some buildings in Whitechapel (occupied entirely by Jews) quoting in illustration of this the example of two families at deadly feud with one another. Before the Day of Atonement they met as friends and ever after that bore no enmity towards each other.

The sixth chapter is concerned with *Jesus Christ, the World Messiah, and the Fulfilment of Israel's Hope*, and is illustrated by a photograph of a Friday afternoon at the Jews' Wailing Place at Jerusalem.

The seventh chapter—*Problems, Thoughts, and Visions*—touches on many problems and 'the vision of the practical revival of the Church of the Circumcision which existed in Jerusalem under James; such a Church, that, while holding all the essentials of the Catholic Faith and Truth, should develop on its own national lines.'

So brief a treatment of so many and so great subjects can hardly be deemed satisfactory save as a Challenge. But the book is in itself a good Companion to Biblical Studies, differing as it does from the more magisterial and methodical compilations which Universities and other printers provide. It may be no contribution to knowledge as knowledge exists in other books—the student is referred particularly to *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* by Box and Oesterley—but the writer has enthusiasm, and gives us glimpses of the Jews as living, suffering, and believing unto this day.

J. H. A. HART.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1916 (Vol. lxxxii, No. 164 : Spottiswoode & Co.). BISHOP OF MADRAS Church and State in India—F. B. JEVONS Science, Ethics, and Art: a synoptic philosophy—E. WORDSWORTH Wordsworth and his influence—W. H. FRERE The English Rite—P. V. M. BENECKE Clement of Alexandria—W. JENKINSON Our London churches before the Great Fire—The crisis of the War—A. C. HEADLAM The Virgin Birth—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1916 (Vol. xiv, No. 4 : Williams & Norgate). S. A. BROOKE A discourse on War—H. BEGBIE The spiritual alliance of Russia and England—A. SHADWELL German War sermons—A. DARROCH Education and Humanism—J. A. R. MARRIOTT The educational opportunity—W. B. SELBIE The problem of Conscience—A. E. GARVIE The Christian ideal and its realization—COUNTESS OF WARWICK Race suicide—A. W. VERNON A modern confession of faith on Jesus Christ—W. MACNEILE DIXON Shakespere, the Englishman—C. G. MONTEFIORE The perfection of Christianity—J. H. HERTZ Jewish mysticism—H. ELLIOT A defence of scientific materialism—Discussions, Surveys, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 67 : Hodder & Stoughton). G. H. BOX The Jewish environment of early Christianity—H. A. A. KENNEDY The regulative value for the Pauline theology of the conception of Christian Sonship—J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the Second Commandment—J. MOFFATT The abuse of laughter—W. H. G. THOMAS The parable of the Unjust Steward—H. H. B. AYLES The references to persecution in the Epistle to the Hebrews—E. C. SELWYN 'Blessed are the poor in spirit'.

August 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 68). G. G. FINDLAY The ministry of reconciliation: a study of 2 Corinthians iii-v—J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the relation of the Decalogue to prophecy: the Decalogue and individualism—M. JONES The Christian ministry in the Apostolic Church: a new theory—C. J. CADOUX St Paul's conception of the Church—R. HARRIS The origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel.

September 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 69). R. HARRIS The origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel—H. T. ANDREWS The faith of the primitive Church—R. A. C. MACMILLAN The Religion without a creed—J. MACASKILL A transformation in Socratic criticism, with an analogy—J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the unique distinction of the Decalogue—A. C. DEANE 'As having authority'—E. C. SELWYN A personal reference to St Paul in the Fourth Gospel—W. H. G. THOMAS A study of 1 Pet. iii 19 ff.

(2) AMERICAN.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JANUARY AND APRIL, 1917

EDMUND BISHOP

ON February 19, at his home in Barnstaple, in response to the gentlest call and literally pen in hand, there passed from us one of the acutest and most learned of the scholars of our time. Edmund Bishop was in his seventy-first year, but his mental vitality was unimpaired, his amazing memory had hardly begun to fail him, and his eyesight, which had so often enabled him to detect erasures in manuscripts and recover lost readings with an almost uncanny skill, served him well to the last : only a weakness of the heart producing breathlessness after exertion, and an increasing frailty which prostrated him from time to time, betrayed the inroads of advancing age. During the last seventeen years I have had the privilege of being in frequent correspondence with him, and in the latter part of that time, when opportunities of meeting had greatly increased, our acquaintance ripened into a friendship, the recent loss of which makes it difficult for me to write about him. But it is fitting that this JOURNAL, to which he has been since 1903 so important a contributor, should preserve some record of his personality, and I could not refuse the request that I should endeavour to estimate, so far as my own limitations might allow, the services which he has rendered to the study of Christian literature.

A few biographical details must first be given, drawn in part from an article in the *Tablet* (March 3, 1917) by his devoted pupil and fellow-worker, Dom Hugh Connolly. Born at Totnes in 1846, he was educated partly at Exeter and partly in Belgium. Attracted as a boy to the Roman Communion he was formally received at the age of twenty-one ; but he cherished no unkind feeling towards the home of his early spiritual nurture, and

I remember the eagerness with which he bade me turn again to the last pages of *John Inglesant*, a book which he told me he read every year. If some of our scholars suffered under the lash of his criticism, it was carelessness, or prepossession, or false method, that vexed him; and their treatment was after all much less severe than that which he frequently meted out to some of the most prominent writers of his own communion. From 1864 to 1885 he held a position in the Education Department of the Privy Council Office: his leisure hours and his vacations were given to patristic and liturgical studies and to researches in the British Museum. His method of study was his own. As a boy, so he told me, he bought Muratori's *Antiquitates*, and read the six folios right through. The great scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were his teachers. He seemed to know them personally. 'I love the *history* of books in *themselves*', he wrote, 'and am a DEVOURER of prefaces.' Changes in the Education Office offered him the alternatives of remaining under new conditions or retiring after unusually short service with a pension. He chose the latter, thus freeing himself for literary work. He went to Downside with the hope of becoming a Benedictine, but his health was too frail to allow of his taking the monastic habit. In spirit he was a true Benedictine, and in the succession of the great masters of sacred learning; and in the large-hearted community on the Mendips he found a second home, where in later years he regularly spent two or three of the summer months in each year. From 1893 to 1901 he worked with his friend Dom Gasquet, now Cardinal Gasquet, in Great Ormond Street, close to the British Museum; and shortly after that he retired to North Devon where he lived with his sister and his niece for the last fifteen years of his life.

Such a life afforded unusual opportunities for continuous and systematic study. His range of reading was immense: he analysed and annotated everything, and made vast collections, largely of materials gathered by himself from manuscripts. He was never satisfied until he had got behind the printed texts: and his way with a manuscript was his own. He would sit and gaze at a great Psalter, until it revealed to him the character of the scribe who wrote it or the ecclesiastic who had ordered it to be written. He had a sense of divination which rarely

played him false : it was controlled by an overmastering passion for getting at the facts, all the available facts, before venturing on the exposition of a theory. In his published writings some of his cherished beliefs would find expression as mere hints in a footnote—'hints', as Mgr Mercati has said, 'worthy of being carefully treasured, and capable of fruitful application.' But in his letters, as well as in his eager conversations, he would let himself go, with delightful apologies and cautions, it is true, but with a freedom and a raciness which displayed the highest qualities of the historical imagination. Many scholars have precious bundles of these letters and of memoranda (*Consultationes*, as he would call them) dealing with the most diverse topics and containing information known only to himself. It may be hoped that presently an effort will be made to collect and arrange this great stock of knowledge, and to publish some portions of it for the use of other students. So much of the character of the man and of the method of his work is revealed in his letters, that I am confident that I shall do better justice to my subject, and at the same time give more pleasure to the reader, by a considerable quotation from a letter dated August 26, 1916, than by any further effort at a personal description. I had sent him a memorandum containing the results of a somewhat elaborate investigation of the Worcester charters, especially those of St Oswald. This drew from him a letter of which the following is a fragment : I give it, as nearly as it is possible to reproduce it in print, with all the little tricks of emphasis which correspond in writing to the vivid tones and significant gestures of his rapid conversation. The opening sentence is too characteristic of his generosity in the appreciation of the work of new-comers in fields which he had made his own to be omitted :

Your exposition of Oswald's mode of action in the case is so singularly concrete and actual that you have been able to draw before one's eyes, help me to 'understand' (and 'feel') the character of Oswald and what *it* was that made Dunstan trust him, as I have never been able, even in a groping, glimmering way, to do before. To me the English tenth century means the 'understanding' (if one can come to it) of four men, three clerics and one layman : Athelstan, Dunstan, Ethelwold, Oswald. Here is the *production* (I mustn't say *projection*, which has an idea of the fortuitous in it) of the great Alfred, his outcome, the outcome as it

were of himself as contribution to the 'Making of England'. Dunstan, I think I can see—*what* he was: to me he is, remains, ever, one of the five or six greatest of Englishmen. Athelstan—ah! Why does not some one take to meditating on him—a sort of Melchisedek of the English State—*sine patre sine matre*? What *was* it that made him—the centre of a whole complex of European Alliances; *and* the donor of books to favoured English churches, 'noble' books—*and* the hero of Brunanburh? Did *anything* escape his keen and penetrating eye? But all this is not for me: I can but see, look, and wonder; and then say 'Exoriare aliquis. . .'. Who shall tell us *what* this hero, this great Englishman, was? Who? Not in my day.

All the three ecclesiastics are deserving of the most careful study. Somehow I have, and have always had, a feeling that Ethelwold was of a 'commoner clay' (there is no other way in which I can put it) than the other two. Yet glimpses we get of him—some—are so wonderfully attractive! Shewing as so singularly 'attaching'—Dunstan had *no* disciples—Ethelwold could not *help* seemingly making them. This then must be always counted in his favour when one strives to realize the living man, the living soul. Also I think we must not forget that *in fact* there issued from Ethelwold a 'literary movement'—unfortunately the Latin things have been most published abroad—but Aelfric . . . there must lie for us (to 'my' mind, whether it be right-guided or wrong) the revelation of *the best* that was in Ethelwold. Yet I feel always a something that draws me back from genuinely and freely 'warming' towards him. I fancy, fancy, it must be some obscure sense of his love of the vanities, pontifical baubles, and so on, Court splendours and the like, that this sort of 'love' and complacency was ingrained in him. 'Very unjust'—of course! But then I can't be just cold—just when I want to *see* the living man and come in touch with—don't laugh—his soul. I say 'don't laugh', because being Devonshire born, and what is more deeply felt, I have a sense of superstitious realism as to Ghosts . . . and that spirit touches spirit still though centuries divide us. . . . Do please before you send me to the limbo of 'Fanciful Nonsensicality' read *In Memoriam*, No. xcv. . . . You see I feel—that is to say in the days when I actually 'handled' (and conversed with) certain MSS that scrutinizing them one came into contact with the living writer—or originator—of them! To take two as examples, two that are to our present business—Ethelwold's Benedictional and the Bosworth Psalter. Years ago I had the opportunity of being able to examine the Benedictional, the MS itself, at leisure to contemplate it for a couple of hours. Gage's reproduction in black and white was then felt to be 'no good' whatever. How gorgeous and splendid. *Here* is Ethelwold himself figured in the dead page of script

and gold. When first I saw the Bosworth Psalter, and had it at leisure for six weeks to scan and 'meditate on', it was the same, and a *comparative* study this time. Here are the two men, Ethelwold and Dunstan, still to-day under their own very hand—more far, actually portraying themselves before one's eyes. For me I must own Bosworth is as surely Dunstan and the Benedictional is Ethelwold—'a portrait by the artist himself'—just as surely as anything in the collection at the Uffizi (isn't it? Anyhow at the Pitti Palace). It matters nought to me to be laughed at for saying so: but I feel 'sure' *you* will not laugh at these confessions, and will look at them with indulgent, even if somewhat sceptical eye. Of course one couldn't put such things in cold print: nor would one care to write them except *most* exceptionally. But I am in the deep sense that there *is* something 'true and just' in these reveries after all. Some day when you are—if ever you feel—in the mood, and are in London, and have two or three hours to spare, get out 'Bosworth' at the Museum and have in the Roxburgh reproduction of Ethelwold's Benedictional, and *contemplate* them comparatively. I think you will find at the end that a couple of hours might be easily worse spent.

I fear that I have exceeded the reasonable limits of space without even approaching the task which I had at first set before myself, namely, of indicating—'pro tenuitate mei sensuli', as one of his Spaniards of the seventh century would have phrased it—the chief contributions which Edmund Bishop made to the scientific study of Christian history and literature. But indeed such a task is better reserved for a fuller consideration and, it may be, for a more capable judgement. A volume is now in the press, on the fastidious correction of which his last efforts were expended, which, under the title *Liturgica Historica*, will present in a permanent form the most important of his many scattered essays and memoranda, brought up to date by means of additional notes and supplementary paragraphs. This will be the only book that will have appeared under his own name as sole author. In other books he stands in the second place as joint-author with a friend. For the rest we have but articles and pamphlets, or 'notes' of unusual dimensions contributed to the books of others. But no one can tell how much of his work, generously given away to a host of enquirers, lies hidden in the writings of scholars who were only permitted to make a general acknowledgement of his assistance.

I close this imperfect notice with an expression of my conviction that his work will be better known and more highly valued in the coming years, that it will profoundly influence the course of enquiry with regard to Christian Worship and the whole history of early and mediaeval religious thought, that the stimulus and inspiration which he has afforded to many younger students will survive the loss of his presence amongst us, disheartening and even staggering as for the moment that loss must be. These consolations, and yet loftier ones, are ours; but the sorrow remains. *Talem reminisci dulce est: tali carere supplicium.*

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

THE EARLY EPISCOPAL LISTS

III. THE EVIDENCE OF EUSEBIUS: COMPARISON OF THE *CHRONICLE* AND THE *HISTORY*.

TO the first volume of this JOURNAL I contributed, under the general heading 'Early Episcopal Lists', two articles, the one an introductory study on Eusebius of Caesarea and his *Chronicle*, the other a criticism of the list of the bishops of Jerusalem. At that time, seventeen years ago, it was my intention to treat similarly of the lists of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. That intention has never been fulfilled, though I made considerable preparations for the third article of the series, on the episcopal line of Antioch. Now I am trying to resume the unfulfilled enquiry; but as I have come to feel more and more strongly that the key of the position lies in the Roman succession, I shall propose to say more about that and less about Alexandria and Antioch than I should originally have intended to do. And even at this moment I am only breaking the ground with two preliminary discussions; the first, a comparison of the evidence of Eusebius in his two great works, the *Chronicle* and the *History*, for the three lists of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome; the second, a conspectus and critical account of the authorities other than Eusebius who have transmitted the list of the Roman succession only.

It would be superfluous to repeat here the whole argument of the two articles contributed to the opening numbers of the JOURNAL: I must be content, for much of the argument and for all the detail, to refer to the articles themselves.¹ I will only

¹ Some errors or imperfections in the two articles may be briefly corrected here: I (Jan. 1900) p. 183 n. 1 l. 3 for 1886 read 1890: p. 184 l. 2 for 'The Chronicle ... is preserved entire ... in Latin' read 'The chronological tables which form the second part of the Chronicle as Eusebius published it ... are preserved entire ... in Latin': p. 190, l. 11 of the table, the duration numbers of A. Pius should be 22. 7. 25, not 22. 8. 25: p. 193, six lines from the end, the citation of Eusebius

summarize in the next few pages the broad historical considerations which must be borne in mind before we approach the study of the episcopal lists in general and the evidence of Eusebius in particular.

There can be no sort of doubt that the Catholic writers of the end of the second century, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, were not only themselves convinced that the episcopal successions in the 'apostolic' churches could be traced back to the apostles' day, but supposed that the claim was universally admitted. The bottom would have been knocked out of their whole argument, if their opponents could have retorted that episcopacy was not after all the primitive institution which they assumed it to be. And in fact the Gnostics, to judge from the material that has come down to us, did let the case go by default. So far from raising any demurrer against the apostolic scriptures or apostolic successions of the Church, their line of attack was to circumvent these publicly attested traditions by propounding as rivals to them private successions and secret scriptures of their own.

This unchallenged assertion of the antiquity of the Church's ministry is of itself an argument of which the force cannot easily be over-rated; but weighty as it is, it cannot be left to stand alone. We must face the task which the Gnostics evaded, and must test as far as we can the validity of the lists of bishops given for the apostolic churches. In so doing, however, proportion demands that distinction should be made between the relative importance of different lists. Even for the four great churches of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the traditions to be investigated stand by no means on the same level. The list of Jerusalem comes to us, as a whole, with a markedly inferior guarantee of trustworthiness to the rest; while at the other end the evidence for the Roman Church is so much the largest in bulk and the most varied in character, that though the Roman list is not necessarily either more ancient or more accurate than the lists of Alexandria and Antioch, for which

should read '*Haer.* lxvi 20 (ed. Oehler II 434)': p. 197 l. 6, on the use of *ἀποστολική* in Eusebius I may refer to my note in the forthcoming volume of *Essays on the Early History of the Church and Ministry*, edited by Dr Swete: II (July 1900) p. 533 l. 5, I have no idea what induced me to lay claim to precise knowledge of the year of Eusebius's birth, but in fixing it at A. D. 274 I put it perhaps ten years too late.

Eusebius is more or less our sole authority, yet since only in this case is there a sufficiency of evidence from other sources to be compared with the evidence of Eusebius and to confirm it, the proof can here be carried to a higher degree of certainty at a more remote period than for the other churches. The core and centre of the problem is the antiquity and authenticity of the episcopal list in the 'greatest, most ancient, and most famous of all churches', the Church of Rome.

Of all these lists the ultimate guarantee must of course reside in local tradition. Yet it is notorious that local patriotism has often, whether consciously or unconsciously, developed the record of its own antiquities on quite unhistorical lines, and some tests must therefore be found by which we may satisfy ourselves of its presumptive trustworthiness. Unconscious development is the natural result of lapse of time: we begin then by asking how nearly contemporary the tradition at each point can claim to be. Conscious manipulation cannot always be the subject of demonstrative proof; but careful insight into the surroundings will generally reveal the weakness of a tradition that is rightly suspect.

Since Eusebius only wrote at the beginning of the fourth century, his own unaided testimony, good for the latter part of the third century and adequate perhaps right back to the beginning of it, would not carry conviction for the earlier period, unless we had reason to suppose either that he depended for this part of his work on chroniclers anterior to himself or that the churches whose traditions he embodies would be likely to have preserved authentic records from a comparatively remote past. And it happens that there is, in what Eusebius gives us, ample material for discriminating between the degrees of credit that attach to different lists, or even to different elements in a single list. Here we may reasonably suppose that the historian had access to earlier literary material: there his own statements shew him to have relied on contemporary information only. In some churches there is good ground for accepting the existence of a tradition as *prima facie* evidence of its truth: elsewhere the tradition when we first meet it is perhaps improbable in itself, and we may be able to put our finger on the actual cause of the defect.

The two great predecessors of Eusebius in the domain of Christian chronology were Julius Africanus and Hippolytus,

of whom the latter published his Paschal cycle in A.D. 222 and (at the end of his life) his Chronicle in A.D. 234, while the Chronicle of Julius Africanus brings events down to the reign of Macrinus, A.D. 217-218.

Hippolytus's Chronicle has only survived in Latin translations: these serve, however, to assure us that among the miscellaneous material of which it was composed were included lists both of emperors and popes with their respective terms of office, 'imperatores Romanorum ab Augusto et quis quot annis praefuit' 'nomina episcoporum Romae et quis quot annis praefuit.' Unfortunately, though the list of emperors is extant, the list of popes has dropped out from the Chronicle as we have it¹; but in any case there is nothing to suggest that lists of the Alexandrine or Antiochene bishops were ever included in the work of this Western and Roman writer. What is more, there is no reason to think that Eusebius knew of the existence of this Chronicle, much less used it. Undoubtedly he had heard of Hippolytus, had come across some half-dozen of his writings, and was aware that many more were in circulation. But his acquaintance with Hippolytus's personal history was so vague that he can only call him 'bishop of some church or other'; and while he briefly summarizes the contents of the *Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα*, he entirely ignores the more important of the two chronological works.² If ever the argument from silence is valid, it is valid to prove that the Chronicle of Hippolytus was not one of the sources tapped by Eusebius.

On the other hand it is certain that Eusebius knew and highly regarded the Chronicle of Julius Africanus. In the *History* (vi. 31. 2) he speaks of 'that monument of accurate labour, the five books of the Chronographies': in the *Chronicle* (Ann. Abr. 2237) Africanus is described simply as 'the Chronicler'³. Everything

¹ It is not impossible that it has survived in another form, in what is called the Liberian list: see below, pp. 128-130.

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. 20. 2 *ἐπίσκοπος ποῦ . . . προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας*, and 22. In the *Chronicle* Hippolytus is only mentioned (Ann. Abr. 2244) as one of three writers who 'clari habentur': moreover, it seems not unlikely that this particular notice is one of Jerome's additions to the text of Eusebius.

³ 'Scriptor temporum' in Jerome's rendering: and the Greek phrase in the Paschal Chronicle *ὁ τὰ χρονικά συγγραψάμενος* is probably taken straight from Eusebius.

points to the conclusion that the *Chronicle* of Eusebius did draw largely on the *Chronicle* of Africanus: and though we have no direct proof that the older *Chronicle* included the episcopal successions of the three great sees (we do know that Africanus was very sparing in his notices of events for the period after Christ), yet such lists of bishops were already fashionable in Christian circles before the third century, and there are other features in the work of Eusebius which tally with the conclusion that he depended for the earlier portion of the chronology of the successions on some first-rate authority not later than the earlier part of the third century.¹ And if so, that authority was almost certainly Julius Africanus.

In any case, Eusebius was so sure, for three of his four lists, of their authority and credit, that he has not even troubled to say what the grounds of his confidence were. Conversely he is scrupulous to tell us that the Jerusalem list was a list of names only without dates—so far it was no worse off than the equally dateless list of Antioch—and that he had got it from the Christians of the local church.² It seems likely that he would not have dwelt on these details if he had not felt that for one reason or other this list stood on a lower level of credit than the rest. It was devoid of any historical guarantee in the sense that it was entirely absent from the older chronicles; and its unconscionable length for the second century—thirty-one bishops in not much more than a hundred years—was obviously a feature which left him a little uneasy.

And there is nothing to counterbalance this unfavourable impression when we take a broad view of the circumstances under which this Jerusalem list comes to light. The two outstanding characteristics of Aelia-Jerusalem were the obscurity of its early history, after the time of the first two bishops, and the inconvenient break in continuity when in A. D. 135 a Jewish-Christian church was replaced by a Gentile-Christian church. In spite of these deficiencies, its associations with the most sacred memories of Christianity gave it, as pilgrimages multiplied, a position of dignity of which it was not slow to take advantage. The move-

¹ It is notorious, in regard to the Roman list, how much more trustworthy Eusebius's information is before the year 250 than after it.

² *H. E.* iv 5. 1; *Demonstratio Evangelica* iii 5.

NAMES, ORDER, AND DURATION OF EPISCOPATE according to printed texts of Eusebius's *Church History* and Jerome's *Chronicle*

ROME			ALEXANDRIA			ANTIOCH		
H. E.	Chron.	H. E.	Chron.	H. E.	Chron.	H. E.	Chron.	
Peter, Paul		om.		H. E.		[Peter]		
1. Linus	Peter	xii	xxv	Mark		Euodius		1.
2. Anencletus	Cletus	xii	xi	1. Annianus	xxii	Ignatius		2.
3. Clemens		viii	viii	2. Abilius	xiii	3. Heros	Heros	3.
4. Euarestus		viii	viii	3. Cerdo	om.	4. Cornelius	Cornelius	4.
5. Alexander		viii	x	4. Primus	xii	5. Heros	Heros	5.
6. Xystus		x	x	5. Iustus	xi	6. Theophilus	Theophilus	6.
7. Telesphorus		xi	xi	6. Eumenes	xiii	7. Maximin	Maximin	7.
8. Hyginus		iii	iii	7. Marcus	x	8. Sarapion	Sarapion	8.
9. Pius		xv	xv	8. Celadion	xiii	9. Asclepiades	Asclepiades	9.
10. Anicetus		xi	xi	9. Agrippinus	xii	10. Philetus	Philetus	10.
11. Soter		viii	viii	10. Iulianus	x	11. Zebinus	Zebinus	11.
12. Eleutherus		xiii	xv	11. Demetrius	xlvi	12. Babyllas	Babyllas [om.]	12.
13. Victor		xviii	x	12. Heraclas	xvii	13. Fabius	Fabius	13.
14. Zephyrinus		viii	om. [xii]	13. Dionysius	xviii	14. Demetrianus	Demetrianus	14.
15. Callistus		viii	v	14. Maximus	xviii	15. Paul	Paul	15.
16. Urbanus		vi	viii	15. Theonas	xii	16. Domnus	Domnus	16.
17. Pontianus		om.	v	16. Peter	om.	17. Timaeus	Timaeus	17.
18. Anteros		om.	iii			18. Cyrillus	Cyrillus	18.
19. Fabianus		iii	iii			19. Tyrannus	Tyrannus	19.
20. Cornelius		ii	ii					
21. Lucius		ii	iii					
22. Stephanus		xi	om. [xi]					
23. Xystus	om.	xi	viii					
24. Dionysius		v	v					
25. Felix		m x	xv					
26. Eutychianus		om.	om.					
27. Gaius								
28. Marcellinus	Marcellianus							

ment which ended in the acquisition at Chalcedon of patriarchal rights was in its infancy when Eusebius visited the church. But the beginnings were of a piece with the later developement. The wonderful stories related to the visitor about bishop Narcissus were not improbably symptomatic: in any case, when we remember how regularly the device of a multiplication of names in the early stages of an episcopal list has been employed in the interests of local ambitions, it is difficult to believe that the pre-posterous list supplied by the Jerusalem Christians was not part and parcel of the campaign of aggrandisement. We have no security that it corresponded to the sober facts of history.¹

For the first beginnings of episcopacy at Jerusalem we are fortunately independent of the list supplied to Eusebius at the end of the third century. We have the authority of Josephus and Hegesippus for dating the martyrdom of James the Just before the siege of Jerusalem, and the authority of Hegesippus for dating the martyrdom of his successor Symeon in the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98-117). Where the origins are so clearly visible, it matters less that later on the mists should gather thickly and conceal from our sight during well-nigh a century the subsequent developement of the Jerusalem episcopate.

Thus we find ourselves, as regards any continuous treatment of the succession-lists, reduced to a consideration of the data bearing on three churches only, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. On the opposite page will be found a conspectus of the evidence supplied by Eusebius for these churches down to the outbreak of the Great Persecution—though in fact it is not necessary to pursue the enquiry beyond the middle of the third century (since no one doubts that by that time episcopacy was fully and universally organized), and the persecution of Decius offers a convenient *terminus ad quem* in the year 250.

Our first and preliminary task will be to examine the lists in Eusebius, with a view to clearing out of the way any apparent discrepancies between the testimony of his two works. This task is immensely simplified by what is now an assured result of the most recent investigations, the proof of the inferiority and

¹ I have treated of this question at length in the article already named, *J. T. S.* i (1900) pp. 529-553, and more summarily in the *Cambridge Medieval History* i pp. 174, 175.

comparative worthlessness of the Armenian version of the *Chronicle*.¹ Jerome's translation will be taken as in each case presumptively a true rendering of the Greek original: where the names or numbers given by Jerome differ from those given in the *History*, we must look to see if there is reason to think that one or the other is in error, and when we have done this, we shall find that the remaining and insoluble differences are few indeed.

1. For the church of Antioch we have to do with names only: Eusebius or his source possessed no duration-numbers attached to the names of the bishops. But even so the variations are considerable between the *History* and the *Chronicle*. Neither work makes any definite statement about the Petrine origin of the episcopal succession of Antioch at the place where we should look for it, namely at the starting-point of the line, but in both it is quite clearly implied elsewhere—in the *Chronicle* in connexion with the notice of the foundation of the Roman Church, in the *History* in connexion with the position of St Ignatius in the Petrine succession.² Of the names of the bishops no less than five out of the twelve which cover the period down to A.D. 250 are diversely given in some or other of our printed texts. Yet on further inspection most of these diversities melt away, and there is nothing left to lead us to think that the real testimony is other than homogeneous. Thus the name of the third bishop should be changed to Heron in the *History*,³ and that of the seventh should be changed to Maximin in the *Chronicle*.⁴ Σεραπῶν is the true form in the Greek of the *History*,

¹ See *J. T. S.* i 184-187.

² *Chron. Ann. Abr.* 205⁸ = Claudius 2, 'Petrus apostolus cum primus Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset': *H. E.* iii 36. 2 τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος.

³ Heron (Hieron, Oron) in the *Chronicle*, *Ann. Abr.* 2123, except one MS Hero: Heros (Eros) in all MSS of the *History*, iii 36. 15, save that one gives Heron. Heros (Eros) is the fifth bishop in all authorities of both works: but it is only in the Latinized forms of their names that any confusion can arise between the two bishops, since the latter is Ἐρως with *epsilon*, the other Ἡρῶν or Ἡρως with *eta*. But Ἡρως is a blunder in *H. E.* iii 36. 15, even if it be a blunder of Eusebius himself: and we must correct him from himself, for he distinguishes the names rightly in *H. E.* iv 20 μετὰ Ἡρώνα καταστάτος Κορηλίου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν . . . Ἐρωτος διαδεξαμένου.

⁴ Maximinus in the *History* v 19. 1, according to the consentient testimony of the MSS, Maximus in Schoene's edition of the *Chronicle*, *Ann. Abr.* 2193. But Maximinus is read by one of Schoene's four MSS and by the Bodleian MS which he did not use, and this reading should be put into the text.

of which Serapio is the natural rendering in the Latin of the *Chronicle*. Zebinus of the older editions of the *History* (vi 23. 3, 29. 4) should probably be corrected, with some of the MSS, to Zebennus. Only with regard to the twelfth bishop, Babylas, who died as a confessor under Decius in A.D. 250, is the divergence real. He is duly recorded in the *History* (vi 29. 4, 39. 4), but in the *Chronicle* he is unaccountably omitted at the point where his accession to office and his number in the episcopal line should have been noted. Since, however, his death is mentioned, at the same time that the name of his successor is given, under Ann. Abr. 2268, it is obvious that the omission of his accession, whether due to the carelessness of Jerome or of Eusebius, cannot be of any real significance. At no place then is there the least reason to think that divergent traditions as to either the names or the order of the bishops of Antioch are represented by the *History* and the *Chronicle* respectively.

2. For Alexandria, as for Rome, Eusebius had at his command something more than a mere list of names; his information included also the number of years of office of each bishop. Between the *History* and the *Chronicle* there is practically absolute agreement of testimony as to names, order, and length of office. It is true that in the case of the third bishop, Cerdo, the *History* (iv 1) omits, no doubt by accident, to record the years of his episcopate, which, on the evidence of the *Chronicle*, should be eleven. It is true, too, that while in the *Chronicle*, where each bishop is only once named, on the occasion of his accession, his years of office are mentioned at that point, in the *History*, where each bishop is named both at the beginning and end of his term, the duration-number is given in the latter connexion: this is the case for the Roman equally with the Alexandrine list. These slight variations are no more than one might expect, and they cannot qualify the certainty of the conclusion that Eusebius had at his disposal, when composing both his great works, at least a list corresponding exactly with that printed on p. 108—names, order, and duration or term-number attached to each name.

3. The differences between the forms of the Roman list in the *History* and in the *Chronicle* respectively are no doubt more considerable: four with regard to the names and no less than twelve with regard to the duration-numbers, if we take into account

the whole list printed on p. 108, or if we confine ourselves to the period before 250, two only as to names and eight as to numbers.

Of the most important of these, the discrepancy between the Peter and Paul of the *History* and the Peter alone of the *Chronicle*, it will be convenient to speak in connexion with the clearly not independent variation as to the years of Peter (p. 115 *infra*).

We are still in the dim atmosphere of the origins of the Roman see in the only other discrepancy between our two authorities as to the names which concerns us—the rival orthographies of the second pope, the successor of Linus and predecessor of Clement. Fortunately the explanation, so far as Eusebius and Jerome are concerned, is quite easy. That Eusebius in the *History* wrote Ἀνέγκλητος, there is no doubt at all: that he used the same form in the *Chronicle* is proved by the evidence of his Greek copyists such as Syncellus, and by those MSS of the Latin *Chronicle* which give Anacletus or Anicletus, for they stand outside the central tradition of the work in this respect and can only have got the form by recourse to the original Greek. The true nomenclature of the second pope is everywhere in Jerome not Anencletus or Anacletus but Cletus.¹ That he should intentionally substitute this form in rendering the *Chronicle* from Greek into Latin is nothing odd, seeing that, though Anencletus is the only form known (apart from Epiphanius) to Greek Church writers, Cletus was equally the only form recognized in Rome. The Canon of the Mass, the list of which no doubt goes back to primitive diptychs, has 'memoriam venerantes . . . Petri et Pauli . . . Lini Cleti Clementis, Xysti Cornelii Cypriani Laurentii,' &c.: Rufinus, like Jerome, reflects Roman use when he writes in the preface to his translation of the Clementine *Recognitions* 'Linus et Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerunt episcopi.'

¹ In the *Chronicle*, Ann. Abr. 2096, Schoene reads Anacletus, but of his four MSS two give Cletus, one Clemens, one Anicletus. The Bodleian MS gives Clemens by the first hand, Cletus by the second. My friend, Dr Fotheringham, informs me that the MS authority for Cletus (to which also Clemens really witnesses) is overwhelming. In the *de viris illustribus* § 15 the state of things is somewhat similar: the MSS differ, but there seems to me very little doubt that Cletus is original. [Lightfoot *S. Clement* i 332 must be corrected on these points in the light of our fuller knowledge.]

If we go on to ask what is the relation between the Anencletus of Eusebius and the Greeks on the one hand, and the Cletus of Jerome and the Roman Church on the other, there are two alternative answers possible: either Cletus and Anencletus were two different people, or the two names are variant forms for the same person. Now the authorities who give only one or other of the two names are both more ancient and more numerous than those who give both: the Anencletus category is headed by Irenaeus, the Cletus category possibly by Hegesippus, or, if not, then by the Roman Canon of the Mass: but Cletus and Anencletus in combination are first found among extant authorities in the Liberian list of A. D. 354 (p. 118). Moreover, reduplication of names is in itself a much more likely thing than omission of names—a stately completeness was everywhere the dominant passion of the compilers of lists—so that, if we can offer any reasonable explanation of the coexistence of the two names for one person, it may be taken as certain that neither Cletus nor Anencletus possessed an individuality apart from the other. And such an explanation lies close at hand. Anencletus is of the type of servile names drawn from the presumed virtues of the person designated, just as Tryphaena and Tryphosa of Rom. xvi 12 were so named, we may suppose, by a more cynical or less sympathetic master from the presumed vices of their class. ‘Blamelessness’ was a description which no Christian would willingly see applied to himself; while on the other hand by cutting the name in half a favourite phrase of St Paul’s would be substituted, indicative no longer of virtues in the sight of man but of ‘calling’ in the sight of God. We may conjecture then that Anencletus, slave or freedman, became known in Christian circles by the alternative name of Cletus; and if so, we have here the first example known to us of a ‘Christian’ name.

So much for the names. With regard to the chronology of the Roman succession down to A. D. 250, four of the eight discrepancies between the two works of Eusebius are in themselves relatively unimportant, extending only to the difference of a single cypher, one way or the other, in the years of Linus Euarestus Urbanus and Pontianus; the other four are more serious, and these may be dealt with first: (1) the years for

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Peter, XXV in the *Chronicle*, Ann. Abr. 2058, are omitted in *H.E.*; (2) the years of Eleutherus differ by two, being XIII in *H.E.* v 22, XV in *Chronicle* A. A. 2193; (3) the years for Zephyrinus, XVIII in *H.E.* vi 21. 1, are absent from the *Chronicle* A. A. 2217; (4) the years for Fabian, XIII in the *Chronicle* A. A. 2255, are absent from *H.E.* vi 39. 1.

The last of these variations is doubtless as purely accidental as the similar omission in *H.E.* of the years of the Alexandrine bishop Cerdo (p. 111 *supra*). One might have been tempted to say the same thing of the omission, in Jerome's version of the *Chronicle*, of the years of Zephyrinus: but it is not quite so easy to omit such figures in a chronicle as it is in a narrative, and as both the Armenian version 'Zephyrinus annis XII' and the chronographer Syncellus Ζεφυρίνος . . . κατὰ Εὐσέβιον ἐτὴ δώδεκα agree in attributing to Eusebius's *Chronicle* the number twelve, it is possible that (whether by an original slip of Eusebius, or by the blunder of an early copyist) the same figure really stood also in the copy that lay before Jerome, and that Jerome, noticing that this was irreconcilable with the interval between the accession of Zephyrinus, A. A. 2217, and the accession of his successor, A. A. 2236, simply dropped it out of the text. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the figure in the *Chronicle* ought to be XVIII as in *H.E.*, or possibly XVIII.

The discrepancy over the figures of Eleutherus is puzzling, not from any hesitation as to which of our two authorities is right—there is a *consensus* of the Armenian version and Syriac epitome of the *Chronicle* with all outside testimony (see the tables on p. 118 *infra*) in support of Jerome's figure XV—but from the difficulty of explaining the genesis of the rival figure XIII of the *History*. It cannot be a mere slip, since it is carried through into the imperial synchronisms: Eleutherus accedes in M. Aurelius 17 (*H.E.* v 1. 1) and dies in Commodus 10 (*ib.* v 22), the interval implied being that of thirteen, not fifteen, years. In fact, the imperial synchronism for the death of Eleutherus shews a difference of no less than four years between the Commodus 10 of the *History* and the Pertinax 1 of the *Chronicle*, Ann. Abr. 2205 and 2209. Is it possible that Eusebius learnt from the *Philo-*

*sophumena*¹ of Hippolytus that Victor was already pope while Commodus was still emperor; that therefore Eleutherus's death must be pushed back into the same reign, and if Eleutherus's accession remained unaltered (it is placed under M. Aurelius 17 in both works) the length of his episcopate must be reduced?

There remains only the variation between the undated 'Peter and Paul' of the *History* and the 'Peter' alone, with date of 25 years attached, under A. A. 2058 of the *Chronicle*: and this variation must be referred to Eusebius himself. Both the Armenian version and the Syriac epitome of the *Chronicle* here support Jerome²; and it is not difficult to see how in the *Chronicle*, where a continuous chronology is needed, Eusebius elected to give the dates of the first and chief apostle-founder, while for the plain narrative of the *History* he preferred to emphasize the credit which accrued to the Roman succession through its common descent from both St Peter and St Paul. It is not unlikely that as in the joint Petro-Pauline conception of the *History* he seems to be depending on Irenaeus,³ so in the Petrine chronology of the *Chronicle* he may be following Africanus. The tradition of St. Peter's twenty-five years' oversight of the Roman Church seems to have been already well established in the third century⁴: and its origin is probably to be sought, not so much in any developement of papal claims, as in the desire of Christian scholars and antiquaries to effect a completed scheme of the successions from the Ascension to their own day: for twelve years our Lord had commanded the Apostles to remain in Jerusalem as their headquarters; for twenty-five years Peter, transferring his work to 'another place' (Acts xii 17), lived on, the first apostle-founder of the Roman Church; from the time of his martyrdom were reckoned the successive terms of the Roman bishops from Linus onwards.

These, then, are the only serious discrepancies between the two forms in which the tradition of the Roman succession, as

¹ Or, to give it the name by which Eusebius knew it (*H. E.* vi 22), *Πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τὰς ἀλφύσεις*.

² The actual figure is corrupted to '20' in the Armenian.

³ *Iren. adv. Haer.* iii 1. 1; 3. 2, 3.

⁴ It is found in the Syriac *Teaching of Addai*; Peter had been designated by our Lord, and was bishop of Rome during twenty-five years in the time of the Emperor who reigned thirteen years. See Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity* '1904, p. 26.

recorded by Eusebius, has come down to us. Of the lesser variations it would seem that (1) Jerome is wrong in the cypher XI for Linus, since both Syriac epitomes of the *Chronicle* agree with the XII of *H. E.*, while the figures of the Armenian (XIII) and of Syncellus (Ϡ') are at any rate nearer to XII than to XI¹; (2) Jerome is more likely wrong than right in the cypher VIII for Euarestus, since against the Ϡ' of Syncellus we have to set the agreement of both Armenian and Syriac with the VIII of *H. E.*; (3) (4) on the other hand, for the two bishops at the end of our period, Urbanus and Pontianus, the VIII and v of Jerome are supported by the Syriac and presumably represent the genuine text of the *Chronicle*, against the VIII and VI of *H. E.* For these two bishops we must suppose that Eusebius did alter his chronology: but as they come next to one another in the succession, and the sum of their terms is the same, fourteen years, in both works, the difference reduces itself to the moving backwards or forwards by one year of the death of Urbanus and accession of Pontianus. The commencement of Urbanus's term, and the close of that of Pontianus, remain the same in the *History* and the *Chronicle*.

Thus, for the period down to A. D. 250, the cases in which Eusebius gives a different witness in his two works are (a) the omission of St Paul's name, and the dating by St Peter only, at the head of the Roman line in the *Chronicle*. (b) the reduction of the traditional figure for Eleutherus, XV years, to XIII years in the *History*, (c) the transference of a single year from Urbanus to Pontianus in the *History*, or from Pontianus to Urbanus in the *Chronicle*, according to whichever of the two chronologies we regard as the standard. Similarly, the cases in which Jerome has substituted a different name or date in translating the Roman list of the *Chronicle* are also three—the name of Cletus, and the years of Linus and Euarestus—and all three belong to the same early part of the list. If the two latter

¹ It may be added that the interval resulting from the dates of accession given by Jerome's version for Linus, Ann. Abr. 2054, and for his successor, Ann. Abr. 2067, is 212 years, but these synchronisms with the secular chronology, and their resultant as the duration-numbers for the Roman and Alexandrine bishops, form a problem too complicated to be considered here: see note at the foot of p. 134. In the next case, that of Euarestus, the interval 2170-2125 supports Jerome's VIII, though VII is probably correct.

variations are intentional, as the change of Anencletus into Cletus undoubtedly is, then it would seem that Jerome must have been depending on his own knowledge of what he took to be the genuine form of the Roman tradition: and it is therefore at least a striking coincidence that all the three variations reappear in one of the local Roman lists (no. 4, p. 122) that will be described in the next section of our enquiry.

IV. AUTHORITIES (OTHER THAN EUSEBIUS) FOR THE ROMAN EPISCOPAL LIST.

It would be disrespectful to the memory of the great scholars—one of them happily still with us—who have within the last two generations done so much to elucidate the problem of the early Roman succession, if I did not commence this section of the present enquiry by enumerating briefly their contributions to the subject. The ball was set rolling by the most illustrious of modern scholars, Theodor Mommsen, whose epoch-making study ‘Ueber den Chronographen vom J. 354’ (in the *Abhandlungen der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1850) is still the indispensable avenue to any complete treatment of the documents. In his maturer years Mommsen returned to the subject with editions of the Chronicle of 354 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora* i [1891] pp. 13–148) and of the Liber Pontificalis (*M. G. H., Gesta Pontificum Romanorum* i [1898], see especially Prolegomena, pp. xxviii–lxii). Another eminent German scholar who devoted much labour to the problem was R. A. Lipsius: his *Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe* appeared in 1869, but in later articles he largely modified his conclusions. Few things could shew better how far we have moved from the critical standpoint of fifty years ago than the blunt statement—as a matter to be assumed, not argued—in Lipsius’s preface: ‘Der Apostel Petrus ist niemals in Rom gewesen’. More important are the writings of Mgr Duchesne, *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis* (1877) and, fifteen years later, the complete and monumental edition, *Le Liber Pontificalis* (1892). But the most comprehensive survey of the whole field is that by bishop Lightfoot in the chapter, ‘Early Roman Succession’, in his edition of *S. Clement of Rome* (1890: i 201–345): it is a serious drawback to its permanent usefulness that so much space is occupied with

the refutation of impossible and now long superseded theories, and there are (as is natural in a posthumously published book) a few small slips here and there, but after all possible qualifications it remains a masterly achievement.

In the tables on the opposite page there is set out in compact form the testimony of all the early lists of the Roman succession, and it is to the consideration and criticism of these that we must now proceed. For the other churches Eusebius is, as we have seen, the only guarantor of anything like a continuous list: alone of the great sees Rome was fortunate enough to find her succession transmitted to posterity through numerous channels. Irenaeus was not the only scholar or theologian of the Western world for whom the appeal came handy to the apostolic tradition of the 'great and glorious and ancient' church of the capital.

1. The first of the seven lists is taken from Epiphanius's book *Against Heresies*. Of one Marcellina, a female adherent of the Carpocratians, he tells us, in the chapter devoted to that sect, that 'she arrived among us a while back, and in the times of Anicetus, who came after Pius and the predecessors of Pius in the succession, she corrupted many persons'¹: and then he takes advantage of this mention of 'succession' to enumerate the names of the Roman bishops from 'Peter and Paul, apostles and bishops' onwards, 'Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement, Euarestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus—the same who has been already named in the catalogue.' Since the second bishop is called Cletus, a form which (as we saw on p. 112) is characteristic of Western as opposed to Eastern writers, the source from which the list was derived must presumably have been Western also. But documents of Western *provenance* and Greek language were not being produced in the fourth century: what Epiphanius was here using must have been something that had come down from earlier times. Now such a list of the Roman succession as far as Anicetus was actually drawn up by

¹ *Haer.* xxvii 6. 1 ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡδὴ πως Μαρκελλίνα τις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαθηθεῖσα, ἣ πολλοὺς ἐλυμήνατο ἐν χρόνοις Ἀνικητοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης τοῦ μετὰ τὴν διαδοχὴν Πίου καὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω. With the older reading καὶ πολλοὺς for ἡ πολλοὺς it might have been possible perhaps to translate 'It has come down to our time how a certain Marcellina . . . corrupted even many': but from the new Berlin edition (vol. i, 1915, *Ancoratus and Panarion haer.* 1-33) by Dr Karl Holl, it appears that ἡ is certainly right.

Hegesippus—'when I arrived in Rome, I made for myself a succession-list down to Anicetus', γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν¹ ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικλήτου (ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv 22. 3)—and there is every reason to suppose that Epiphanius was acquainted with Hegesippus's *Memoirs*: what, then, more likely than that this Roman catalogue in Epiphanius should be the very catalogue which we know was contained in the work of the older writer?²

In the same context Epiphanius gives us also some chronological *data* in respect to the Roman succession, which have seemed to suggest that the list he used was equipped with duration-numbers and imperial synchronisms: 'Peter and Paul were martyred in the twelfth year of Nero; after the apostles' martyrdom Linus and Cletus were each bishop for twelve years.' But it would be an anachronism to suppose that Hegesippus had any interest in chronology as such: that form of literature took its rise in Christian circles, with other forms of Greek Christian scholarship, during the Long Peace that intervened between the reigns of Severus and Decius, A.D. 211–249, and Julius Africanus was in all likelihood its first exponent. It is more probable that these *data* were isolated pieces of information, brought forward by Hegesippus as bearing on the question of the relationship of Clement, third bishop, to the apostles, with which the context in Epiphanius is as a matter of fact concerned.³ Even so, it would follow that chronological material about the earlier popes was accessible at Rome in Hegesippus's day, a conclusion which has an important bearing on the problem before us.

¹ The reading διαδοχὴν is quite certain: I do not think it would ever have been doubted if people had sufficiently studied the wide uses of διαδοχή in early writers, pagan as well as Christian. In the Berlin edition of Eusebius *H. E.* Schwartz accepts διαδοχή without a word of question, but (if I understand him rightly) suspects ἐποιησάμην.

² This identification is one of the most brilliant features of bishop Lightfoot's treatment in *S. Clement of Rome*, i 327–333.

³ The question was one which interested other early writers: Irenaeus speaks of Clement as having known the apostles and having their preaching still ringing in his ears, *Haer.* iii 3. 3; Tertullian of the Roman tradition as claiming Clement to have been 'a Petro ordinatum', *Praesc. Haer.* 32. Epiphanius tries to reconcile the divergent traditions about Clement by suggesting that Clement was ordained bishop by St Peter, perhaps on the occasion of one of his departures from the city, that he declined the episcopate after the apostle's death, but was pressed to take it up after the death of Linus and Cletus. The author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii 46. 6) makes Linus to have been consecrated by St Paul, and Clement after Linus's death by St Peter as second bishop: the same author, as pseudo-Ignatius,

2. The next list in order of time is that of Irenaeus, which includes two more names than the list of Epiphanius-Hegesippus, those of Soter and Eleutherus, making twelve in all after the two apostles. On the other hand, Irenaeus provides no chronological material, except that (like Epiphanius) he brings Clement, the third bishop, into direct connexion with the apostle-founders of the Roman Church. To Irenaeus the episcopal successions from the apostles constitute one of his main lines of argument against the Gnostic heretics of his day. Men like Ptolemaeus the Valentinian were not only claiming to be the teachers of the true Christianity, but they spoke of themselves as inheriting by succession the apostolic tradition.¹ Against such assertions it was an obvious answer to point to the historical lines of succession in the episcopate of the apostolic churches, one name preceding another until at the head of the list comes the name of the apostle who organized the particular church and left the first bishop in charge, and to challenge Gnostic opponents to produce on their side anything of the same sort. Irenaeus knows many such successions in the apostolic churches, but not to burden his readers with too much detail he selects for transcription one single list, that from the greatest and most ancient and best known of all churches, the church founded at Rome by the two pillar apostles, St Peter and St Paul, 'the blessed apostles, who, having laid the foundations and built up the walls of the church, entrusted to that Linus whom Paul mentions in his epistles to Timothy the ministry of its oversight.'² He was succeeded by Anencletus, and after Anencletus at the third stage from the apostles the episcopate fell to Clement. Clement had both seen and lived with the blessed apostles, their preaching was still ringing in his ears, and their tradition was still alive before his eyes—and not his only, for many were still left at that date who had been taught by the apostles. . . . This Clement was succeeded by

ad Trall. 7. 4, brings in the missing name of Anencletus, by saying that Linus served St Paul as minister, Anencletus and Clement St Peter. So again Rufinus, in the preface to his version of the Clementine *Recognitions*, suggests that Linus and Cletus were St Peter's suffragans during his lifetime, Clement his successor after his death.

¹ Ptolemaeus *Ep. ad Floram* ap. Epiphanius *Haer.* xxxiii 7. 9 τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἦν ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς παρελήφαμεν.

² Τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν, *Iren. adv. Haer.* iii 3. 3. The passage is preserved in the original Greek by Eusebius *H. E.* v 6.

Euarestus, and he by Alexander : next, sixth from the apostles, Xystus was appointed, and after him Telesphorus, who bore a glorious witness in martyrdom : then Hyginus, then Pius, and after him Anicetus. Soter succeeded Anicetus, and at the present moment in the twelfth place from the apostles the post of the episcopate is held by Eleutherus. In this order and succession both the tradition from the apostles in the church and the preaching of the truth has come down to our time.'

The witness of St Irenaeus to the Roman succession is quite definite whether as regards time or place. He wrote at Lyons, and under the episcopate of Eleutherus, therefore not later than A.D. 190. He had visited Rome in the year 177, when the martyrs of Lyons sent from their prison a commendatory letter with him to the pope : he was then still a presbyter but succeeded Pothinus, who died a victim of the same persecution. According to one story, which there is in itself no reason to suspect, he was in Rome also at a considerably earlier period, on the occasion of St Polycarp's martyrdom in A.D. 156. In any case his testimony is amply adequate to guarantee to us the tradition of the Roman Church, some years before the close of the second century, as to its own origin and history.

3. The list of Eusebius has been examined in detail in the previous section of this enquiry, and it is only named here because it was of course necessary for purposes of comparison to include it in the tables on p. 118.

4. The fourth list is the only one which is not drawn direct from a single literary source, and is therefore naturally the one about the origin and value of which there is most divergence between the scholars who have treated of the problem of the Roman succession. To some, such as Duchesne and Lightfoot, its sources, for the period which concerns us, seem to be nothing more than Jerome's version of the *Chronicle* and the Liberian chronographer who comes fifth in our series. For Lipsius and for Mommsen, on the other hand, it is an independent witness to the early tradition of the Roman Church, parallel and in some respects superior to the Liberian list. Let us begin then by looking at the admitted facts.

We notice, in the first place, that a number of *manuscripts* of early Latin Canon Law include a table of the Roman succession,

and it is clear that the forms in which this table appears are mutually related and point back to a common original.¹ The manuscripts in question range in date from the second half of the sixth to the end of the ninth century: but all of them are copies of collections older than themselves, and speaking generally these collections were made in Gaul between the end of the fifth and the end of the sixth century. The prominence thus given to the papal succession is a more or less conscious indication of the Romanizing tendency that made itself felt in Gaul from the time of Caesarius of Arles onwards: the constitutions of the Apostolic See, it is implied, possess equal validity with the canons of the councils.²

The common source of these tables of the succession being thus not later than about the middle of the fifth century—for they shew numerous divergences in detail—the question was next asked whether there was any known document of that date which may have served as their original. Now in the year 447 a book on the Paschal cycle was published, dedicated to the reigning pope, Leo the Great, and it did contain a chronology of both popes and emperors.³ The papal list itself is lost, and we have no means of reconstructing its testimony: but it is obviously just the sort of document that we desiderate as the parent of the lists that were current in Gaul half a century later, and so the list that is put together from the Gallican MSS of Canon Law has come to be known as the Leonine catalogue.

Whether we give this particular name to the parent list or not

¹ The lists are printed separately according to the different MSS in Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis* i 13 ff. The MSS are (1) St Vaast, now Arras 644, of the Quesnel group (Ψ in my *Ecd. Occid. Mon. Jur. Ant.*); (2) Corbie, now Paris lat. 12097, my C; (3) Chieti, now Vat. Reg. 1997, my I; (4) Reims, now Berlin Phillips. lat. 84, my R; (5) Laon, from a MS now lost; (6) Cologne, Chapter Library ccxii, my K; (7) Albi cod. 2, my A—CK and the exemplar of A were closely connected MSS; (8) Chronicle of Fredegar, now Paris lat. 10910; (9) another Corbie MS, now Paris lat. 12205: the common original of all these lists is restored by Mommsen, *Liber Pontificalis* I xxxiii ff., after whom I repeat it in the table, p. 118 *supra*.

² See my paper 'Arles and Rome: the first developements of Canon Law in Gaul,' *J. T. S.* xvii (April 1916) 236. The desire to possess a continuous chronology of the Christian centuries, from the time of the apostles down to the writers' own day, was no doubt also a contributory cause.

³ Among the few fragments of the book that have survived (they were found at Zeitz in Saxony) is the following sentence from the prologue: 'huic autem collectioni paschaliū dierum non solum seriem consulum conexuimus sed etiam annos apostolicæ sedis antistitum et ætates regni principum Romanorum diligentissima adnotatione subdidimus.'

does not in itself greatly matter: it is in any case certain that the list cannot have originated at any much later date, nor, ultimately, away from Rome. What does matter is whether in giving this name we mean to assume that the author, whoever he was (it is likely enough that Duchesne is right in suggesting the name of the chronicler Prosper, the friend of St Leo) depended only on the fourth-century sources that are as accessible to us as they were to him—the Liberian chronographer immediately to be mentioned, and the *Chronicle* of Jerome—or whether he drew from lost documents like the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus or even direct from the archives of the Roman Church. And therefore while Lightfoot calls the parent list the 'Leonine Catalogue', Mommsen, believing that the nucleus of the list was in existence a century or more before the papacy of Leo, prefers the non-committal title of 'the Index'.

5. The fifth list presents the most complex problem of them all. In two quite late copies, preserved respectively at Brussels and at Vienna, we have the débris of an important collection of material bearing on the past history, sacred and profane, and on the then existing condition, of the City of Rome—a sort of *Whitaker's Almanack* of the middle of the fourth century A. D. It is dedicated to a Christian of the name of Valentinus, who cannot be certainly identified, and the illuminated title-page was the work of Furius Dionysius Filocalus, the well-known artist who engraved for pope Damasus the splendid inscriptions which that versatile pontiff set up prodigally throughout the basilicas and catacombs of Rome. First comes a kalendar, divided into two parts, astronomical and civil; the *natales Caesarum* in the latter point to the joint reign of Constantius and Constans (340–350), though they have been altered to suit the sole reign of Constantius (350–361). Next come the *Fasti consulares*, a complete list of the consuls from the first days of the Republic down to A. D. 354 inclusive, i.e. between 800 and 900 years, with leap-years marked for every fourth year, and for every year the day of the week and the day of the moon's age on January 1. Thirdly, a list of Easter-days for the century from 312 to 411, according to the 84 years' cycle as modified by the local use of the Roman Church: down to 358 the table is accurately made out with the correct names of the consuls,

and doubtless preserves the record of the actual days on which Easter was celebrated at Rome, but the last half of the table, referring to a time which was future when it was incorporated in the collection, has fallen into a good deal of confusion, no doubt through the attempts of successive scribes to bring it up to date. Fourthly, a list of the Prefects of the City for the hundred years from 254 to 354, 'ex temporibus Gallieni quis quantum temporis praefecturam Urbis administraverit.' Fifthly, two brief lists constituting between them the primitive ecclesiastical kalendar of Rome, the 'depositio episcoporum' and the 'depositio martyrum': the former contains ten popes from Lucius († 354) to Silvester († 335) in the order of their obits in the calendar year, and two more at the end, Marcus († 336) and Julius († 352), in chronological order—obviously it was drawn up after Silvester's death under Marcus, and brought up to date after Julius's death under Liberius—the latter contains Christmas Day, the two African festivals of 'Perpetua and Felicitas' (March 7) and 'Cyprian' (September 14), the feast of St Peter's Chair (February 22), and some twenty-five commemorations of Roman martyrs, including SS. Peter and Paul, and the popes Fabian, Xystus II, and perhaps Callistus.

Next follows the list that is of special interest for us: 'Imperante Tiberio Caesare passus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus duobus Geminis coss.¹ VIII kal. Apr., et post ascensum eius beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit; ex quo tempore per successionem dispositum, quis episcopus quot annis praefuit vel quo imperante.' The list runs from St Peter to Liberius, whose accession in 352 is mentioned but not his death: unfortunately it has suffered much in the course of transmission, but we can say with certainty that to the name of each bishop was attached a record of (1) the length in years, months, and days of his tenure, (2) the emperors in whose reign he held office, (3) the consulships of the beginning and end of his term. From Pontianus († 235) onwards the list becomes more circumstantial: historical notices are from time to time inserted, and the day of consecration and the day of death are recorded with gradually increasing regularity. From the same point also a corresponding change takes place in the treatment of the consulships: down to

¹ That is, A. D. 29.

Pontianus the last consulship of one pope is always distinct from the first consulship of his successor—as though each pope were assumed to have died at the end of December, and his successor to have entered on office at the beginning of January¹—but where the actual day of death or consecration was known, and that took place at any other time of year, it was obvious that the same consulship which saw the one pope out saw also the next one in, and after Pontianus the list recognizes this and proceeds accordingly. The whole compilation nevertheless is by a single editor: the consulships, whether before or after Pontianus, are taken from the *Fasti* which form the second document in the collection, the blunders of which are regularly reproduced. But if these consulships were first added by the compiler of 354, we must, in reconstructing the chronology of the Roman succession, leave them entirely aside. Even where they are correct (and the compiler not infrequently took the consuls of a wrong year), they add nothing to the credibility of the list: their only value is that they help towards the reconstruction of the compiler's text, and towards the elimination of the errors that in the course of transmission since his time have crept into it.

These six pieces are quite obviously all integral component parts of the same collection of A. D. 354: it is otherwise with the piece that next follows in the Vienna MS, namely a list of consuls from Julius Caesar down to 533,² with historical notes attached, notes which from the end of the fourth century onwards are so numerous that the document becomes rather *Annals* than *Fasti*. But the consuls' names deviate considerably from those of the collection proper, so that not even the nucleus of these *Annals* can be attributed to the chronographer of 354, and we need not linger over them. We come back, however, into the near neighbourhood of the Liberian chronographer with a brief *Chronicle of the World*, from the beginning of Genesis onwards, the chronological summary of which is brought down to the consulship of Paulinus and Optatus, A. D. 334.³ And even

¹ The consular year, like our own civil year, ran from January 1 to December 31.

² The years that correspond to A. D. 404–437 are lost.

³ This date alone shews that the title interpolated in one MS between the preface and the body of the document *Incipit chronica Horosii* must be the blundering conjecture of some scribe. Orosius lived nearly a century later, and his *Chronicle* is extant.

if a Chronicle of the World would not have been quite what we should expect in our Roman *Whitaker*, the two next following and final pieces carry the World Chronicle with them and justify its place—an *Origo Gentis Romanae* or Chronicle of the City of Rome, and a *Notitia Regionum* or description of the different quarters of the City. Both these documents are full of local and topographical knowledge: the former, arranged historically according to the reigns of the different emperors, comes down to the death of the emperor Licinius in 324, the latter, arranged geographically according to the Regions, includes buildings of Constantine the Great. Both are therefore contemporary with the World Chronicle of 334, and doubtless formed a single whole with it, incorporated *en masse* into the collection of 354.

But before we return to our papal list, there is something more to be said about this World Chronicle, which as it happens can be traced back exactly 100 years behind the recension in which our collection presents it. For if we compare it with an anonymous *Liber generationis* which serves as the first book of the chronological compilation of the so-called Fredegar, but is also preserved independently in a few early MSS, we shall find that the two forms are related to one another with so much closeness of matter and so little of language, that the necessary conclusion is that they are separate versions of a single Greek original. Now the other form contains, twice over, a chronological summary—omitted by our editor of A. D. 334—reckoning 5738 years from Adam to the thirteenth year of the emperor Alexander, i. e. A. D. 234, which was also the year of writing.¹ Moreover in the table of contents that heads this other version of the Chronicle, the nineteenth chapter is 'Imperatores Romanorum ab Augusto et quis quot annis imperavit', the twentieth and last 'Nomina episcoporum et quis quot annis praefuit', though unfortunately, while the imperial catalogue appears in its right place in the text of that version, the episcopal catalogue has dropped out. Both catalogues are absent from our chronographer's form of the Chronicle, no doubt for the simple reason that he possessed, elsewhere in his own collection, fuller lists whether of emperors

¹ 'Fiunt igitur omnes anni ab Adam usque ad xiiii Alexandri imperatoris annum anni v̄dcccxxxviii . . . fiunt igitur omnes anni ab Adam usque in hunc diem anni v̄dcccxxxviii.'

or of popes: both were, however, quite certainly genuine parts of the Chronicle of A. D. 234. But what chronicler is there of that date, writing in the Greek language and—as the parallelism of the imperial and papal succession proves—in the West? There is only one Christian author who fulfils the conditions of subject-matter, place, and time: Hippolytus of Rome, who was living till 235, and the catalogue of whose writings includes a work called *Χρονικά*.¹

We have thus acquired the knowledge that the Chronicle of Hippolytus was in circulation at Rome in the fourth century in a Latin dress, and that it included a list of popes presumably carried down to the year 234; further, that our chronographer of 354 has for the purposes of his own collection suppressed that list, just as he has suppressed the parallel list of emperors, because he has elsewhere provided us with fuller lists brought up to date. But it still remains possible that the chronographer depended, directly or indirectly, on Hippolytus for the earlier part of his papal list; and this is what we have now got to try and find out.

In itself it would have been not unlikely that our writer, if he had access to other and completer sources, should have left the Hippolytean papal list entirely out of account, just as he seems to have done with the list of emperors. Hippolytus's list of emperors, we learn from the other version of his Chronicle, extended from Augustus to Alexander Severus, and was confined to names and duration-numbers in years, months, and days: the chronographer's list runs from Julius Caesar to Licinius, and is enriched with numerous notices of Roman events exactly parallel in style to the notices, for the period after 234, of the papal list.² The two imperial lists appear to be entirely independent of one another: in other words, the imperial list of Hippolytus, if its

¹ The catalogue is inscribed on a contemporary statue of Hippolytus now in the Lateran Museum. Julius Africanus is excluded, not only because he wrote in the East, but because his Chronicle was composed some fifteen years earlier. See above, pp. 105-107.

² Compare, e.g. the notice for Diocletian and Maximian 'His imp. multae operae publicae fabricatae sunt' with those for the popes Fabian 'Multas fabricas per cimiteria fieri iussit' and Julius 'Hic multas fabricas fecit'. The Hippolytean list of emperors may be found in *Chronica Minora* i 137, 138; the chronographer's list *ibid.* 145 sqq., or *Ueber den Chronographen vom J. 354*, p. 645.

only chance of survival had been through the Liberian chronographer, would have gone under altogether. We cannot, it is true, apply the same criterion in the case of the two episcopal lists, since here the original catalogue of Hippolytus has, as it happens, dropped out also from the other version of his Chronicle: but if the matter had stood there, and we had nothing but the parallel of the imperial list to guide us, the probabilities would have pointed to the independence of the papal list of the chronographer *vis-à-vis* to the papal list of his predecessor. And it might seem a further argument on the same side that the Liberian chronographer's list is disfigured in its earlier part by grosser blunders than we should willingly attribute to Hippolytus.

Are there then any definite indications which counterbalance this presumption, and suggest that the chronographer acted differently in regard to the one list than he had done in regard to the other? Modern scholars have with some approach to unanimity answered this question in the affirmative,¹ because they detect a break in his work exactly at the point at which any one who had based himself so far on Hippolytean material must have passed to the employment of some other source. There is in fact no doubt that the Liberian list does divide itself into two more or less well-marked sections, and that the dividing line comes at the episcopate of Pontianus. It has already been noted (p. 125) that the dating of the popes by the consuls reveals just there a change from one method to another: no doubt the whole series of consular dates are all equally due to the Liberian editor himself, but the change suggests a change in the character of the material that lay before him, such as might correspond to the change, for instance, from a literary to a diplomatic source, from the chronicle of Hippolytus to the archives of the Roman See. Again the *data*, stereotyped on a single model down to Urbanus, the immediate predecessor of Pontianus, become from thence onwards richer and more varied. Before Pontianus only one precise date is marked, the martyrdom of the two apostles on June 29, and only one historical note is superimposed on the chronological framework, namely the publication of the *Shepherd*

¹ Mommsen, *Ueber den Chronogr. vom J. 354*, p. 597; Lipsius, *Chronologie*, p. 41; Lightfoot, *S. Clement* i 261.

of Hermas under the episcopate of his brother Pius: from Pontianus to Liberius, on the other hand, historical notices are numerous, and precise datings by month and day become so regular that it is possible throughout the whole period (apart from the years of disorganization during the persecution of Diocletian) to fix the days of accession and of decease with some approximation to accuracy. Thus, by piecing the evidence together, we can assert without reserve that bishop Anteros was consecrated on Sunday, November 22, A.D. 235, and died on January 3, A.D. 236, after an episcopate of only six weeks, and that his successor Fabian was consecrated on Sunday, January 10 following, and died a martyr, on the outbreak of the Decian persecution, January 20, A.D. 250.¹

That is as far perhaps as we can profitably carry at this stage the enquiry into the sources that lie behind the Liberian catalogue of the popes. We turn now to the consideration of the last of the lists printed on p. 16, the list given us by St Optatus.

6. Optatus, bishop of Mileou² near Cirta, the capital of Numidia, was the author of a work in six or seven books against the Donatists, on which later Catholic writers, and in especial St Augustine, drew largely. Neither the name nor the date of Optatus's work can be established without difficulty. For name, it was probably devoid of one altogether—'Optati Milevitani libri numero VII'—a simple enough device so long as an author wrote no more than a single work: if it was known by any particular name, it will have been by that of the Donatist writer against whom it was directed, 'ad Parmenianum'. As to date, the Roman catalogue of which we are going to speak is brought down, on the consentient testimony of all the extant MSS, to

¹ See my paper, 'The papal chronology of the third century' in *J. T. S.* July, 1916 (vol. xvii pp. 338-353). The investigations of previous scholars in this matter, even Lightfoot's admirable pages *op. cit.* 286-299, have suffered, as I shewed in the paper referred to, by the neglect, down to the year 314, of the rule of Sunday ordination, which there is every reason to believe prevailed throughout the third century. By taking this rule into account, it becomes possible to carry the proof of the details of the chronology from 235 onwards to a much higher degree of certainty.

² We know the adjective familiarly, Optatus Milevitanus: but what was the name of the town which the adjective represents, or whether it was ever known in a Latin form at all, is not so easy to say. Abp. Benson *Cyprian* p. 584 gives Mileou in the text, Milev in a note. The official title of the place was 'colonia Sarnensis Milevitana'.

pope Siricius, therefore to at least A.D. 385. But there is good reason to suppose that the treatise underwent (whether at the hands of Optatus himself or no) a process of re-handling some ten or twenty years after the original publication. Thus the Donatist succession at Rome is given (ii 4) as Victor, Bonifatius, Encolpius, Macrobius, and quite clearly Victor is there reckoned as the first of the line and Macrobius as in possession at the time of writing: 'si Macrobio dicatur, ubi illic sedeat, numquid potest dicere "in cathedra Petri"?' Yet a few sentences later the list has swollen to six, and Macrobius has, in all our MSS save one, two successors, Lucian and Claudian. Add to this that Optatus himself puts the interval since the great persecution of A.D. 303-305 as 'sixty years and more' (i 13), and that Jerome in his *de viris*, written in A.D. 392, places the literary appearance of Optatus on the catholic side 'under the Emperors Valentinian and Valens', i.e. between A.D. 365 and 375, and it is not easy to resist the conclusion that the same hand which inserted the two extra bishops of the Donatist succession in Rome was responsible also for one bishop in the Petrine succession. With Lucian and Claudian, Siricius ought also to disappear: Optatus must have published under pope Damasus, say about A.D. 370-375.

The first book of Optatus's work has for its subject the historical origins of the schism: in the second he turns to the examination of the marks of the one true Church. Of these marks or endowments, *dotes*, the first is (so Parmenian and Optatus are agreed) the *cathedra* or Chair, that is, the episcopal succession. Each party claimed no doubt to have, at Carthage or at Cirta, the true succession to the line of bishops whom they claimed in common down to the early years of the fourth century; and Optatus does not wait at this point to work out the local problem, for he has a stronger argument at hand from the conditions existing in the great church across the sea which was founded—here again Parmenian would have no quarrel with Optatus—by the prince of the apostles himself.¹ But if Peter was the first bishop of Rome, and Linus succeeded Peter, and the succession of names in the whole line is well known from

¹ It was probably believed by all Christians in Africa that the preaching of Christianity, and therewith the apostolic origin of the episcopal succession, had come to Carthage mediately or immediately from Rome.

Linus down to Damasus, the present holder of the see, then the question is forced on us, to which party in Africa the communion of Damasus, and with Damasus of the whole line of succession represented in him, is available. And the answer is plain : the Catholics of Africa are in full fellowship with the bishop in the succession from St Peter, while the Donatists are so far from having part or lot with him that they have at Rome their own line of succession and their own conventicle for worship. One Victor had been sent from Africa to supervise the Donatist congregation in Rome, and he had been followed by three other bishops one after another. There was thus a succession, it was true, but a succession which could only be traced back a few stages, and then came to an end in a bishop who had no predecessor, '*filius sine patre, tiro sine principe, discipulus sine magistro, sequens sine antecedente, inquilinus sine domo . . . episcopus sine populo*'. In contrast with this mushroom and alien succession, Catholics had their fellowship with a prelate who was only the last in a long line of predecessors reaching back to the apostle who was 'head of all the apostles'.

The actual list of names as represented in the manuscripts of Optatus is not free from difficulty : but by good fortune it happens that we possess a second testimony to the list in the 53rd epistle of St Augustine. Augustine's purpose in citing the catalogue of Roman bishops is very much the same as we have described in the case of Optatus, and it is more than probable that the later writer borrowed the catalogue straight out of the work of his predecessor. At any rate some peculiarities of the catalogue, shared by both Optatus and Augustine, are so marked that it is clear that they are not independent of one another, and we may legitimately use the evidence of the manuscripts of both writers to reconstruct the common original, whether or no that original goes back behind Optatus.

That Clement and Anencletus are inverted, that Alexander is omitted in his proper place and substituted for Eleutherus where the latter name ought to occur, are the most important features in which this fourth-century African list diverges from all other forms of the tradition, and they are guaranteed by the consentient testimony of the manuscripts, whether of Optatus or of Augustine. That the third bishop after Peter was known to the

list in the form Anecletus or Anicletus, and the last of those who concern us as Favianus, is also almost certain : and even these small peculiarities in orthography all help to guarantee the common ancestry of the list. In the later part of the list, after pope Fabian, there are more serious divergences between the two African writers¹ : but even so, they are not of a character to lessen the probability of the conclusion that St Augustine was employing the same list as St Optatus.

Optatus, like Irenaeus, gives no chronological material : his list is concerned with names and order only, not with dates.

It will be noticed that this African list, besides its own peculiarities in regard to the order and orthography of the names, presents certain other features in common with the Liberian list, namely, the inversion of Clement and Anencletus, and the inversion of Anicetus and Pius. On the other hand, the duplication Cletus Ana(Anen)cletus, as we find it in the Liberian list, does not re-appear in the African list : and therefore the alternatives suggested by the evidence of the relation of the two lists are (1) that Optatus drew not on the Liberian list itself, but on its source, and that that source was still free from the reduplication of names Cletus Anencletus, or (2) that if Optatus had the Liberian list itself at his disposal, then he must have also known another, in some respects purer, form of the Roman list and must have combined the two as best he could.

7. Limitations of space made it undesirable to print in the tables on p. 118 the seventh and last early catalogue of the popes, and the text of it may therefore be subjoined here to the previous discussion. In an anonymous hexameter poem against Marcion, printed in the editions of Tertullian, occur the following lines (lib. iii 272-296, Oehler ii 792) :—

Quorum discipuli qui successere per orbem,
conflati virtute viri, nostrique magistri,

¹ The two successive popes, Eutychian and Gaius, towards the end of the third century, are omitted in all the MSS of Optatus, but they are present in all the MSS of Augustine : probably therefore the fault lies not with Optatus or his source, but only with the manuscript tradition of his work. Again, of the two successive popes (according to the ordinary lists) Marcellinus and Marcellus, the former only is given by the MSS of Optatus, the latter only by the MSS of Augustine. In this case I think that we may be fairly sure that the original form of this African list did give only one of the two names.

coniunctos operis nobis tribuere honores.
 ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum
 hac cathedra, Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum
 maxima Roma Linum primum considerare iussit.
 post quem Cletus et ipse gregem suscepit ovilis.
 huius Anacletus successor sorte locatus,
 quem sequitur Clemens : is apostolicis bene notus.
 Euaristus ab hoc rexit sine crimine legem.
 sextus Alexander Sixto commendat ovile,
 post expleta sui qui lustris tempora tradit
 Tele[s]phoro ; excellens hic erat martyrque fidelis . . .
 constabat pietate vigens ecclesia Romae
 composita a Petro : cuius successor et ipse,
 iamque loco nono, cathedram suscepit Hyginus.
 post hunc deinde Pius, Hermas cui germine frater
 angelicus pastor quia tradita verba locutus,
 atque Pio suscepit Anicetus ordine sortem.

Of the author, time, or place of this poem nothing is really known. But it seems to me quite certain that he used St Irenaeus. The details about Clement and Telesphorus, as well as information which he also gives as to the dates of the arrival in Rome of Cerdo and Marcion, point definitely in that direction. What he adds to Irenaeus, in the duplication Cletus Anacletus and the statement about Hermas, is all found in the Liberian list : but as he avoids the Liberian writer's mistakes in the order of the popes Cletus (Anacletus) Clement, and Pius Anicetus, it looks as though he tapped not the Liberian list itself but its source. Did he use Hippolytus and combine him as best he could with Irenaeus?

C. H. TURNER.

NOTE. It should have been emphasized (p. 111, five lines from the end) that such a list of bishops, consisting simply of names, order, and years of office, is just what on the analogy of what we know of Hippolytus (pp. 106, 127) we should expect to find in Africanus. Eusebius was probably the first chronicler to break up the episcopal lists and to incorporate the names into the *cadres* of his universal chronology.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH.

WESTERN baptismal creeds, from the Old Roman creed onwards, almost without exception profess faith in the Resurrection of the Flesh. *Omnium corporum*¹ takes the place of *carnis* in a Gallican form (Hahn, § 64), and an African creed (Hahn, § 52) has *omnium hominum*²; but *carnis resurrectionem* (or *r. carnis*) stands in all normal and official recensions of the Apostles' Creed.³

English versions of the Creed prior to the fourth decade of the sixteenth century uniformly represent *carnis*; see the forms printed in Maskell *mon. rit.* ii p. 240 ff; Heurtley *harm. symb.* p. 88 ff; Hahn §§ 78-89. In Hilsey's Primer (1539) 'body' is substituted for 'flesh' (Brightman *The English Rite* ii p. 780), and this change is adopted in *The Necessary Doctrine* (1543), where, however, the context shews that no doctrinal significance is to be attributed to it (*Formularies of the Faith*, ed. Lloyd, p. 251). Possibly it was under the influence of these two documents that Cranmer printed 'body' in the creed of the Catechism (1549), and in the creed of Mattins (1552). Bishop Dowden describes this as 'an error for which there is no excuse' (*Workmanship of the PB.* p. 101); but it may have been deliberate.⁴ In either case the change was not made consistently throughout the book; 'Resurrection of the Flesh' was retained in the Baptismal office (1549, 1552, 1661), and in the Visitation of the Sick.⁵ The English Church, in common with the other Churches of the West, continues to baptize her children into the belief that the Flesh shall rise again.

The phrase 'Resurrection of the Flesh', though now characteristically Western, was at first not without support in the East, where, indeed, it was perhaps the earlier form. The creed of Jerusalem, as given by Cyril (*catech.* xviii 22), had πιστεύομεν . . . εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.⁶ Similarly the baptismal creed of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii 41): βαπτίζομαι . . . εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. But from the middle of the fourth century the prevalent form of this article in the East is εἰς ἀνάστασιν

¹ Σωμάτων ἀνάστασις occurs already in Tatian (*adv. Graecos* 5).

² Cf. the *Quicumque*: 'omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis.'

³ The Aquileian creed had *huius carnis* (Hahn, §§ 36, 49); cf. the creed of the Mozarabic Liturgy (*ibid.* § 58).

⁴ With the view of bringing the forms of the article nearer to the use of Scripture.

⁵ The creed of the Visitation was not printed in full before 1661, but a rubric (1549, 1552) directed that it should be rehearsed 'as it is in Baptisme'.

⁶ Cyril's own preference for another form of words is shown by his paraphrase (c. 28), τοῦτέστι τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν: see Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 91.

νεκρῶν (ὅτι τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν, ὅτι τ. ἐκ νεκρῶν). If we may judge from the creed of Bishop Alexander (Hahn, § 15), the creed of Alexandria had τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν from the beginning of the century or earlier.¹

There can be no question which of the two forms (σαρκός, νεκρῶν) is nearest to the phraseology of the New Testament. For ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (ὅτι ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν) there is abundant authority in Apostolic writings²; for σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις there is no N. T. precedent, though σωμαίων ἀνάστασις might claim some support from such passages as Matt. xxvii 52, Rom. viii 11, 23. Indeed, the use of σαρκός in this connexion may seem (as early writers recognized) to fly in the face of 1 Cor. xv 50, and of St Paul's doctrine of the spiritual body. It may be taken, then, as fairly certain that *carnis* in the Old Roman creed is not an echo of the Apostolic tradition. Yet there is some reason to think that it was familiar to the Roman Church before the end of the first century. Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xxvi 3) quotes Job xix 26 in the form ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην, where cod. B (LXX) has ἀναστήσει τὸ δέρμα μου, and codd. A B^c.³ have ἀναστήσει μου τὸ σῶμα. The ancient Latin version of Clement gives *corpus*, but the Greek MSS support τὴν σάρκα. It has been suggested that Clement borrowed τ. σάρκα from what follows in the Hebrew (יִשְׁאָרְתִּי), but it is barely possible that Clement, who, if of Jewish extraction,⁴ was a Hellenist, should have had resort to the Hebrew, and corrected his Septuagint from it. More probably he conformed his Greek text to a way of speaking about the Resurrection which was in vogue among Roman Christians in his day. He had learnt to think of the Resurrection as a σαρκὸς ὁ τῆς σαρκὸς ταύτης ἀνάστασις, and if so, the phrase was already current in Rome by 95 or 96; whether it was already an article in a Roman creed, we need not stop to discuss.

What was the origin of this early use of σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις in the Roman Church?

The Ignatian letters may suggest an answer. Ignatius rarely mentions the Resurrection of the Church⁴; but he has much to say about the Resurrection of the Lord. He insists on the reality of the Resurrection, coupling it, as a historical event, with the Passion (*Eph.* 20, *Magn.* 11, *Philad.* praef., 8, *Smyrn.* 7, 12). The Resurrection of Christ, he says, was both in the flesh and in the spirit (καὶ σαρκικῇ καὶ

¹ Hort *ibid.* pp. 80, 91, n. 2; cf. Hahn, § 122. The change was possibly due to the influence of Origen (see below, p. 140).

² The phrase is found, with some variety of form, in Matt. xxii 31, Luke xx 35, Acts x 41 &c., Rom. i 4, 1 Cor. xv *passim*, Heb. vi 2.

³ Lightfoot *Clement of Rome* p. 59 ff.

⁴ See e.g. *Eph.* 11 ἐν οἷς γένοιτο μοι ἀναστήναι. *Trall.* praef. ἐν τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει. *Rom.* 4 ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. *Polyc.* 7 εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναι με ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει (!) ὑμῶν μαθητής.

πνευματική, *Smyrn.* 12. 3). He is assured that the Lord after He rose was still in the flesh (*ibid.* 3. 1), not a δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον, but a human being, who could be handled, who could eat and drink. It is clear that this repeated insistence on the fact of the Resurrection of the Lord was directed against the Docetic tendency to reduce it to a purely spiritual event.

The Resurrection of the Church had been called in question at first as inconceivable or impossible: 'there is no resurrection of the dead', some frankly said, or asked how the Resurrection was to be realized; what kind of body the risen would wear (1 Cor. xv 12, 35). A little later, the attack took another form; there were those who held that the Resurrection was 'past already' (2 Tim. ii 18), i. e. they recognized only the spiritual resurrection of Baptism. The first of these positions is pagan, and the second Gnostic, and both were maintained in the early post-Apostolic Church. Thus Polycarp writes with reference to the former (*Philipp.* 7): ὁς . . . λέγει μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Justin (*dial.* 80) speaks of some who bear the Christian name, and yet affirm μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλὰ ἅμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. More usually the objectors contented themselves with a denial that the flesh would rise, limiting the resurrection to the spirit. Thus the homily which passes as a second letter of Clement to the Corinthians urges (§ 9): μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται . . . ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε. And at Rome Hermas writes (*sim.* v 7): βλέπε μήποτε ἀναβῆ ἑπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φθαρτὴν εἶναι. According to Irenaeus (*haer.* ii 31. 2) the Valentinian schools τοσοῦτον ἀποδέουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐγείραι . . . 'ut ne quidem credant hoc in totum posse fieri, esse autem resurrectionem a mortuis agnitionem eius quae ab eis dicitur veritatis'. Marcion, he tells us (*haer.* i 27), taught 'salutem solam animarum esse futuram; corpus autem . . . impossibile esse participare salutem'.¹ Of the Gnostic sects generally Tertullian writes (*de resurr. carn.* 19): 'Resurrectionem mortuorum manifeste annuntiatam in imaginariam significationem distorquent, asseverantes ipsam etiam mortem spiritaliter intellegendam.'

The Church, on the other hand, looked for a resurrection which, like that of the Lord, would be one both of flesh and spirit, and it can hardly be doubted that to this contention we owe the phrase *carnis resurrectio*. That it had its origin at Rome is at least probable. To Rome, as we know, all heretics flocked. Valentinus made it his headquarters through the reign of Antoninus Pius; Marcion and Cerdo

¹ Cf. Tertullian *praescr.* 33; *adv. Marc.* v 10; and see Lightfoot *Ignatius* i p. 587.

were in the capital about the same time; Heracleon and Ptolemaeus came a little later. But, as Duchesne says (*Early History*, E. tr. p. 173), 'it is most unlikely that some of those inventors of counterfeit religions, who swarmed in Syria and Asia, had not come from the East to Rome long before this time.' The heaven may have been already working in Clement's days, and opposition to Gnostic teaching on the Resurrection may lie behind his reading of Job xix 26, already mentioned. Certain it is that *σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις* was a watchword of orthodoxy in Justin's time; *dial.* 80 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἰ τινὲς εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοὶ . . . *σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα*. It is possible also that the emphasis laid by the sub-Apostolic Church on the Resurrection of the Flesh may be due in part to the prevalence of chiliastic opinions.¹ From Papias onwards early Catholic Christians expected a reign of Christ on earth to follow the Resurrection: a reign in which the saints in their reconstituted bodies were to have a place. Thus Eusebius (*H. E.* iii 39) says of Papias: *χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης*. And Justin, immediately after his mention of the Resurrection of the Flesh (cited above), proceeds: *καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομηθεῖσθαι καὶ κοσμηθεῖσθαι καὶ πλατυνθεῖσθαι*. How frankly materialistic this millenarian hope could be is plain from the picture of the miraculous productiveness of vine and wheat which Papias attributed to our Lord, and believed to have been handed down by John the disciple of the Lord (*Iren. haer.* v 33. 3 f). Such expectations assumed a resurrection of the flesh, and were not unlikely to have helped to popularize the phrase when it had once been started in the Church's early conflict with the false spirituality of Gnosticism. It is important to ascertain the sense which the flesh was intended to bear in the phrase *σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις*. Happily the extant Christian literature of the second and third centuries supplies ample material for forming a judgement on this point. The period produced a series of monographs upon the Resurrection, some of which have survived in part or in whole, as well as larger works which deal with the subject more or less fully. The monograph of Clement of Alexandria is no longer extant,² and those of Hippolytus³ and Origen⁴ have left but a fragment or two. But we have a large part of the tract on the Resurrection

¹ Lightfoot *Supernatural Religion* p. 151: 'Chiliasm is the rule, not the exception, with the Christian writers of the second century.' He refers to Barnabas, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, besides Papias and Justin.

² Harnack *Geschichte der altchr. Literatur* i p. 308.

³ Lagarde *Hippolytus* p. 90. The title of this book, as given on the Chair, is *περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως* (Lightfoot *Clement of Rome* ii pp. 329, 398).

⁴ Harnack *Geschichte* i p. 383 f.

which is printed among Justin's works, and is probably scarcely later than his time,¹ and complete treatises by Athenagoras and Tertullian. Besides these, the Resurrection is handled by Irenaeus (*haer.* v) and Theophilus (*ad Autolycum* i). From these sources it ought to be possible to make out with some precision what the Church of the first three centuries meant when it professed its faith in the Resurrection of the Flesh.

No essential distinction seems to have been drawn as yet between the resurrection of the flesh, of the body, and of the dead. Thus Tertullian begins his book *De resurrectione carnis* with the words, 'Fiducia Christianorum resurrectio mortuorum.' Our Lord is said ('Justin' *de resurr.* 9) to have been raised *σωματικῶς*, by a writer who, a sentence or two after, speaks of Him as having risen and ascended *ἐν τῇ σαρκί*. Irenaeus also appears to use *σάρξ* and *σῶμα* almost indifferently; after asking (*haer.* v 2. 3, cf. iv 18. 1) how any can say that the flesh, which is fed by the body and blood of Christ, is incapable of receiving God's gift of eternal life, he proceeds to say that our bodies which have been fed by the Eucharist, though laid in the earth and resolved into it, shall rise again in their season. The flesh seems to be regarded as the material, the body as the organism in which the flesh expresses itself.² If so, *resurrectio carnis* asserts the continuity of the substance of the body, while *resurrectio corporum* lays stress on the restoration of the bodily organs. Upon both these points the popular theology of the early Church insisted. Catholic writers were never weary of arguing that the flesh no less than the spirit is the creature of God, and cannot be left to perish in the grave; thus Tertullian *de resurr. carnis* 9 writes 'Absit ut Deus manuum suarum operam . . . in aeternum destituat interitum'. It may be changed, as St Paul has taught us that it will be, but not destroyed; the spiritual body will still be flesh: *ibid.* 55 'aliud enim demutatio, aliud perditio . . . quod mutatum est perditum non est'. Christian teachers of this period were unanimous also in pressing the identity of the risen body in all its parts with the body which was buried. Men are to rise in the same body in which they sinned or conquered sin. 'Resurgit igitur caro' (Tertullian sums up, c. 63) 'et quidem omnis, et quidem ipsa et quidem integra.' Every one of our present members and organs will find its place in the risen body. If it is said of the hairs of our heads that they are all numbered,

¹ Harnack *Geschichte* ii pp. 308 ff, 722.

² Jerome (*ep.* 38) draws the distinction thus: 'Omnis caro est corpus, non omne corpus est caro'; giving as an example, 'paries est corpus, sed non caro.' He complains that the Origenist John of Jerusalem used *corpus* many times, and *caro* not once. *Corpus*, he complains, is a 'nomen ambiguum' which 'ad diversas intellegentias trahi potest'. This ambiguity does not seem to have been felt by earlier writers.

what does this mean but that not one of them will perish? (c. 35 'perituros enim quae ratio in numerum redeisset?'). The adversary naturally retorted that even if such a resurrection were possible,¹ it would be futile, since our present limbs and organs would find no functions to fulfil in the life of the world to come. Neither 'Justin' nor Tertullian answers this objection satisfactorily, and in Tertullian we begin to witness the breakdown of the insistence on the resurrection of the body in its present form; in deference to St Paul he admits that there may be such a transformation as to leave only the 'substance' of the flesh (*de resurr. carn.* 55 'mutari, converti, reformari licebit, cum salute substantiae').

This concession did not go far enough to satisfy Origen. The great Alexandrian had no sympathy with the literalism which regarded the Resurrection as a reproduction of the existing body. To Celsus, who had ridiculed the doctrine of the Resurrection as it was commonly preached by the churches, he replies (c. *Cels.* v 18): οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε τὰ θεῖα γράμματα αὐταῖς φησιν σαρεῖ, μηδεμίαν μεταβολὴν ἀνειληφότας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ζῆσθαι τοὺς πάλαι τεθνηκότας. The popular teaching and the Gnostic attempt to refine it were, in Origen's judgement, both at fault; according to Jerome (*ep.* 38, *ad Pammachium*) he held 'duplicem errorem versari in ecclesia, nostrorum et haeticorum'. Christians who clung to the flesh (φιλόσαρκες) were in error when they maintained that the risen body would be such as it is now, with hands, feet, and all its parts entire. As St Paul points out, the identity of the body that is raised from the dead with the present body will consist, not in the recovery of the outward form, but in a quasi-seminal relation: 'in ratione humanorum corporum manent quaedam surgendi antiqua principia et quasi ἐντεριώνη, id est, seminarium mortuorum, sinu terrae confovetur. quum autem iudicii dies advenerit . . . movebuntur statim semina . . . et mortuos germinabunt, non tamen easdem carnes, nec in his formis restituent quae fuerant.' If we may trust Jerome, Origen went on to give some account of his own conception of the risen body: 'nunc oculis videmus, auribus audimus, manibus agimus, pedibus ambulamus; in illo autem corpore spiritali toti videbimus, toti audiemus, toti operabimur, toti ambulabimus . . . Aliud nobis spiritale et aetherium promittitur, quod nec tactui subiacet, nec oculis cernitur nec pondere praegravatur, et pro locorum in quibus futurum est varietate mutabitur.'²

Whether Origen found νεκρῶν in his creed, or whether it was substituted for σαρκός in the Alexandrian creed under his influence, we do

¹ This was of course denied, but adequately supported by Christian advocates (e.g. 'Justin' *de resurr.* 2 ff; Athenagoras 2, 3).

² Compare the interesting fragment of Hippolytus *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* (Lagarde, p. 90).

not know. There seems, however, to have been no necessity laid upon him by his view of the Resurrection body to reject *σαρκός*. The word *σάρξ* may be applied to a spiritual body, if it is not assumed that the risen body will not consist of the same flesh, or of flesh of the same character as that which we wear here; as St Paul points out, οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σὰρξ: it is only the Aquileian *huius carnis* which is excluded by Origen's supposition. Nor does the 'Resurrection of the body' involve the restoration of all the parts of the buried body, or, indeed, of any of them; there are *σώματα ἐπουράνια* as well as *σώματα ἐπίγεια*, and the analogy of the seed suggests a thorough change: ὁ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις.

Thus Western Christians can continue to confess their faith in the 'Resurrection of the flesh', or 'of the body', although in the interpretation of the terms they have learnt to follow Origen rather than Tertullian, and perhaps, if the choice had rested with them, would have preferred to speak only of the 'Resurrection of the dead'.

H. B. SWETE.

THE STORY OF ST JOHN AND THE ROBBER.

IN the July 1916 number of this JOURNAL Dr Swete gathers up the chief points of the evidence relating to John of Ephesus. One of these is drawn from the story of St John and the Robber, found in Clement of Alexandria's *Quis Dives Salvetur*.¹ As this story may throw a little light, not only on the special problem of the relation between John of Ephesus and St John the Apostle, but also on the general question of the Ministry at the end of the first and beginning of the second century, it seems to deserve an examination in some detail.

The story may be briefly told thus. After the death of the 'tyrant', St John the Apostle removed from Patmos and settled at Ephesus. From this city he paid visits by invitation to neighbouring churches, either to appoint bishops, or to regulate church affairs, or to ordain clergy. On one such visit to a city not far away, his attention was attracted by a strong and handsome young man (*νεανίσκος*), presumably among the church congregation; and before leaving the Apostle commended him to the care of the local bishop. Accepting the trust,

¹ The text is found in Stählin's *Clem. Alex.* vol. iii pp. 187. 27-190. 19. The references in this paper are made to volume, page, and line of Stählin's text, with the pages of Potter's edition in brackets. There is an English translation of the *Quis Dives* by P. M. Barnard (*Who is the Rich Man that is being saved?* S.P.C.K. 1901), who has also published a text in *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. v No. 2.

the bishop took the young man to his own home, cherished him as a friend, and at last baptized him. After this he relaxed his careful oversight, thinking that the 'seal of the Lord' was itself protection enough. But the young man had received his liberty too soon. He fell among bad companions, and gradually became accustomed to a life of robbery and outrage, finally establishing himself as chief of a band of brigands. Time went by, and the Apostle was sent for once again to settle some affairs of the same church. Having completed this task, he asks the bishop to return the 'trust' formerly committed to him. When the bishop realizes what is meant, he is forced to confess his failure; the young man is 'dead to God'. But the Apostle is indignant. He calls for a horse and guide, and rides straight from the Church (αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας) to the hill which is the robbers' stronghold. Here he is brought before the chieftain, who, overcome with shame as he recognizes the 'old, unarmed man', throws away his weapons, and consents to be led back to the church. There the Apostle remained by his side, praying and fasting for him; nor would he go away from the city until he had restored the young man to his former place in the church.

Any one who reads the story in full will be ready, I think, to admit that it bears on the surface the marks of truth. It is too circumstantial in its details, and too vivid in its colouring, to be a mere invention. In fact, we possess few narratives outside the New Testament which give us so living a picture of church life in the first and second centuries. In this respect the story is comparable with Justin's account of Christian worship and with parts of the *Didache*. No doubt much is due to Clement, who knows how to tell a story¹; but the main interest of this one is plainly independent of its literary setting. Assuming, then, that the story embodies a true tradition, what does it tell us about early Church history?

(1) The first question that occurs to us is: Could the story possibly relate to St John the Apostle? We have to remember that Clement, who is our authority for the story, never doubts that he is speaking of the Apostle. His words are: ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. The Apostle John is in Clement's belief the author of the First Epistle.² He is also the author of the Gospel, which is mentioned in the opening words of Clement's *Commentary on the First Epistle*.³ That the 'John' of the Apocalypse is also the

¹ Read, for instance, the story of Eunomus at the opening of the *Protrepticus*; and the brief, yet pointed, version of the parable of the Good Samaritan in the *Quis Dives*: Stählin iii 178. 20-34 (951 P).

² ii 217. 2 (532 P).

³ iii 209. 25-6 (1009 P).

Apostle this story itself shews, when it speaks of the release from Patmos. Clement, in fact, knows only one John. But whom does he mean by the 'tyrant'? Domitian, almost certainly; for, as is well known, it is the unanimous testimony of early church writers that the stay in Patmos occurred during this emperor's reign.¹ Now Domitian died in 96 A. D., at which date an exact contemporary of our Lord would have been over 100 years old.² Even supposing St John the Apostle to have been ten years younger than our Lord,³ this would still make him over ninety before he started the work described in our story. We can imagine an old man of from 90 to 100 being carried into church and preaching 'Little children, love one another'⁴; but it is surely out of the question that a man of such age should have exercised this active, itinerant ministry, and have been ready at a moment's notice to ride on horseback into the hills. This consideration applies not only to St John the Apostle, but to any other man of the same generation who had been a personal hearer of our Lord; and it has additional weight if we remember that the story gives a clear impression of covering a period of years, perhaps only two or three, though it might well be more. One who had, in his boyhood, seen the Lord (or possibly one whose parents had told him that, as a young child, he had seen the Lord) might fit into the story; but hardly one who had been a disciple in a real and personal sense. If we could shift the scene back some twenty-five years, and assume that Nero is the 'tyrant' referred to, the case would be different; but against this there is the united tradition of antiquity, as well as the opinion of modern scholars, that the Apocalypse dates from Domitian's reign.⁵ On the whole, then, the chances seem decidedly against the John of this story being either the Apostle or any personal disciple of our Lord.

(2) What was Clement's source for the story? It has been noticed

¹ Irenaeus v 30. 3: Eusebius *H. E.* iii 20.

² If the date of the Nativity is 7-6 B.C. See Hastings' *D. B. Art. Chron. of N.T.* (C. H. Turner), vol. i p. 415 b.

³ It is usual to think that St John was very young at the time of our Lord's ministry. But this merely rests upon the belief that he is identical with the John of Ephesus who was alive from A.D. 90-100. We have no direct evidence. If our Lord did not begin His ministry until He was about 30 years old, it is not likely that He would have chosen men much under 30 to fill the prominent positions assigned to the Twelve. We may also note here that St Paul, whom we should expect to be at least as young as, if not younger than, the Twelve generally (being a *νεανίας*, i. e. certainly not much over 30, in A.D. 35-36; cf. Acts vii 58), calls himself 'aged'—if we adopt the natural interpretation of *πρεσβύτερος*—in A.D. 60 or 61 (Philem. 9).

⁴ St Jerome *Comm. in Gal.* vi 10.

⁵ Dr Charles, for instance, asserts without any question that the Apocalypse in its present form was composed in Domitian's reign: *Eschatology* p. 404.

that the local bishop is called indifferently *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος*, and Barnard has suggested that Clement may have been 'following a written authority, dating from a time when the two terms were synonymous'.¹ It is difficult to think of such a writing, for had it existed, we should almost certainly have found other testimony to this story, independent of Clement. So little was known of the history of the Apostles, that an account like this, full of beautiful teaching, would have been often copied, or at least referred to. We know that Eusebius wrote it out in full,² but Clement was his source; and all other copies or references came either from Clement direct or through Eusebius. Its style would not lead us to suspect a written source, for it is quite in harmony with the rest of the *Quis Dives* and, indeed, with Clement's writings in general.³ But beyond all this, Clement's way of narrating the story speaks for itself. He says expressly that it has been 'handed down and preserved in memory' (*παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμῃ πεφυλαγμένον*). Again, when speaking of the city where the incident in question occurred, he adds: 'Some tell even its name', a fact which points to more than one version of the story. Evidently Clement did not feel sure of the name, or he would have inserted it.⁴ Then at the end we are told that 'John did not go away, *as they say*, before he had restored him to his place in the church'. It was an oral tradition, then, which Clement heard and first put into writing. Where did he hear it? Quite likely at Ephesus, or in its neighbourhood. He had travelled widely in his earlier days, for he alludes to honoured teachers whom he had been privileged to hear in districts so far apart as Greece, Magna Graecia, the Orient, and Egypt.⁵ His words give us no reason to suppose that these were the only places he visited, for he is speaking primarily of his

¹ Barnard *Who is the Rich Man that is being saved?* p. 72 n. 2.

² Eusebius *H. E.* iii 23.

³ Owing to the fact that it is a story, and a short story into the bargain, we should not expect to find in it many of the characteristic words of Clement's ordinary writing, which is either hortatory or argumentative. But the following occur: *σημαίνειν, ἀναπαύειν, φωτίζειν, ἐκπλήσσειν, παραιτεῖσθαι, παράδειγμα, μῦθος*. There is also the curious expression *ποικίλαις δὲ σειρήσι λόγων κατεπάδων* (iii 190. 16: 960 P), of which *κατεπάδειν* is a Platonic word often used by Clement, and the persuasive power of the Sirens is also familiar to him: cf. Stählin i 83. 9 (91 P); ii 32. 8-10 (345 P) and 476. 16 (784 P). But the most convincing passage is that in which he compares the young robber to a high-spirited and restive horse, *τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακῶν*. This latter phrase comes from Plato's *Phaedrus*, 254 D, and was evidently a favourite one with Clement, for he quotes it in two other places. viz., Stählin i 66. 23 (73 P) and 210. 3-4 (222 P).

⁴ The *Paschal Chronicle* (p. 470) says Smyrna; but this is probably no more than a guess. Although Clement calls it a *πόλις*, the scenery of the story points to a country village rather than to a large city, the name of which was not likely to be forgotten.

⁵ Stählin ii 8. 16-24 (322 P).

teachers, not of his travels. But even had he never seen Ephesus, the story may have come to him through some fellow-traveller, perhaps through his teacher in Greece, who he says was an Ionian.

How, then, are we to explain the use of *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* in reference to one and the same person? The story has a primitive air about it, and certainly goes back to a time when, or to a place where, these two terms were synonymous. If it came originally from the Christians of some outlying town or village not far from Ephesus—the little scrap of tradition which connected them with the great ‘apostle’ John, and which they would preserve with scrupulous care—both terms might well have been used in it side by side; either because the story had been handed down thus, or because the sharp distinction between ‘bishop’ and ‘presbyter’ was not yet felt in the country districts. On the other hand, the use may be Clement’s own. His statements about the ministry are not altogether precise. Sometimes he mentions three orders, sometimes two only, and his terms cannot always be interpreted in a strictly technical sense.¹ And in the present instance he calls the bishop *πρεσβύτερος*² as well as *πρεσβύτερος*, which seems to shew that the latter term still conveys to him a notion of ‘age’ in addition to that of ‘office’.

(3) What is the character and scope of the ministry described in this story? Clement assigns three objects to the itinerant work of St John: (a) to appoint bishops (*ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων*); (b) to set in order whole churches (*ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων*); (c) to ordain individual clergy (*κλήρον ἕνα γέ³ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σηματομένων*). Assuming, as I think we can, that Clement is giving an accurate description of the work, we find here an enumeration of apostolic activities, very much as they are to be seen in the New Testament. The ‘appointment of bishops’ is the same as the appointment of ‘presbyters in every city’ mentioned in Titus i 5 (cf. *ἐπίσκοπον* in Titus i 7), and the ‘election’ of presbyters by St Paul and St Barnabas in Acts xiv 23; i.e. the choice of a group of men, conspicuous by age or spiritual gifts, to preside over a local church.⁴ The second phrase

¹ See Tollinton *Clement of Alexandria* ii 112–113.

² Stählin iii 189. 15 (960 P).

³ Stählin reads γέ from a single MS of Eusebius. The ordinary reading is τέ, which Barnard retains, translating as follows: ‘ordaining a ministry, or individuals of those indicated by the Spirit’. But it is hard to see what difference there would be between ‘ordaining a ministry’ and ‘appointing bishops’. Stählin’s reading seems distinctly better.

⁴ That the plural *ἐπισκόπους* refers to a body of men set over a single church is shewn by the Greek construction, *ὅπου μὲν . . . ὅπου δὲ . . . ὅπου δέ*. In the present story only one official is spoken of, but there is no reason why he should not have been the president of a body.

might perhaps mean 'fitting out' or 'constructing' whole churches in the sense of founding them; this would be missionary work after the manner of St Paul. But more likely it hints at the settling of difficulties, possibly even of disputes between presbyters and people, such as we know from Clement's Epistle might easily arise. Finally, there is the work of filling up vacancies in the presbyteral body; for κληρος here seems practically to have come to mean an individual minister.¹ Certain persons were 'indicated by the Spirit', through their possession of the requisite gifts (e.g. prophecy or pastoral authority), as being fit to exercise rule in the church; and one or more of these, as occasion demanded, was set among the body of presbyters.

It is, then, a spiritual sway akin to that of St Paul which the John of this story is represented as wielding. True, he visits the churches 'by invitation' (παρακαλούμενος).² When once there, however, he is clearly master. A bishop of to-day is often 'invited' to visit one of the parishes in his diocese, but this does not lessen his authority. If we take Clement's description as it stands, John does everything that we could expect the highest apostle to do. And if we can trust the chronology, we are faced by the practical certainty that this John is neither the Apostle nor any other personal disciple of our Lord. He would seem to belong to that intervening period between the rule of the Apostles proper and the rise of monarchical bishops. There is, in the general setting of this story, a remarkable likeness to the Third Epistle of St John; for in each case a kind of patriarchal authority is claimed, but whereas in the story this authority is admitted, in the Epistle it is resisted. It is not hard to understand how local churches, as they grew in strength and organization, might begin to resent control from without, feeling that they were well able to settle their own internal affairs. Are we, then, to say that the Diotrephes of the Epistle is an example of a church ruler who adopts an attitude the direct opposite of that of our obedient presbyter-bishop? And can we go further and say that the writer of the Epistle is no other than the John of Clement's story? It seems more than likely that we can.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

¹ For the stages in the developement of κληρος see Lightfoot *Phil.* p. 246. On p. 247 n. 1, Lightfoot says that κληρος in this passage seems not to be used in the sense of clergy, i.e. the clergy as a body; but he does not give his own opinion as to its meaning. It seems to me that κληρος here means partly 'lot', and partly the person who is appointed to the 'lot'. Barnard (*op. cit.* p. 46) thinks that κλήρω must be read if γέ is adopted. But would not τῷ κλήρῳ be needed?

² Stählin iii 188. 4 (959 P).

ABILENE, THE JEWISH HERODS AND ST LUKE.

Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετραρχούντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετραρχούντος. Luke iii 1.

THE selection of Lysanias for inclusion in this note of date has for a long time puzzled me, as it has, I gather, puzzled many others. It is difficult to understand why one minor potentate of Syria should be chosen, when others, Aretas, for instance, of Nabataea, or the dynast of Chalcis, have, at all events at first sight, as good or better claims. It is not as if the natural features of the district made Abilene a natural part of the land of the Jews, or as if there had existed a long tradition of political association between the two states or any such tradition of a sort worth mentioning at all. The facts are the other way about. Geographically Abilene goes with the north: it was a hill district connected with the northern hills. Historically before the time of which St Luke is writing it had had no real or permanent political connexion with Israel or Judaea, not even in the time of Solomon or of Jeroboam II or of the Maccabees. Whatever may have been the facts regarding the progress northwards of these monarchs, their efforts had but a transient success; there was certainly no subjugation, no occupation of this mountain district. Defeated on the plains, its mountaineers retired to their strongholds, made some sort of a submission and bided their time; their 'conquerors' had to be content to leave it so. The Herods, indeed, had had their eyes upon it for over half a century, but though they were working northwards and in the end possessed both it and much of the larger kingdom of which it had once formed a part, in A. D. 30 they had only reached its foot-hills. Probably enough, as St Luke tells us, a kinsman of Lysanias the elder, also called Lysanias, ruled at Abila at this date¹; but the ruler's name is immaterial, for whoever ruled it, Abilene was not Herodian in A. D. 30; in mentioning it in this connexion St Luke goes outside the area governed or ever previously governed by the Herods or by any earlier Jewish ruler. The Jews, moreover, of our Lord's time had little in

¹ An inscription, seen at Abila and copied by Pococke (*C. I. G.* 4521) but now lost, commemorates the public spirit of Nymphaeus, freedman of the tetrarch Lysanias, who had made himself responsible for the building of a road and temple; in other words he had helped to beautify and civilize his patron's capital. The κύριοι Σε[βαστοί] mentioned in the inscription cannot well be any but Tiberius Augustus and Livia Augusta (A. D. 14-29)—a fact which, taken with other evidence, makes it over-bold to deny with any dogmatism the existence of a Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene, in the second and third decades of the first century of our era.

common with the Ituraean freebooters of Abilene; cut off from each other in almost every respect by the interests and habits which keep states apart, there was also the memory of recent hostility between the two. It is, I presume, generally admitted that our Lord never taught in Abilene. Two possible explanations, therefore, of the inclusion of Lysanias, which at once suggest themselves, can be excluded from consideration.

Abilene, however, became Herodian about A.D. 37 when Caligula gave it to Agrippa I. Philip's tetrarchy went with it. In A.D. 41 Claudius confirmed the grant, other portions of Herod the Great's kingdom being added later, so that at his death (A.D. 44) Agrippa I was ruler of all of his father's kingdom and of Abilene in addition.¹ We need feel accordingly no doubt that St Luke's ante-dated interest in Abilene is due to its subsequent incorporation in the territory of those Herods who maintained their connexion with the Jews; and we may note that at his death Agrippa I's domain corresponded to the area which St Luke in his description had in his mind.

But this is not all the problem. When Agrippa I died, the Romans took over the administration of his kingdom. His son, a youth of 17, at first had nothing. After his uncle's death, however, in A.D. 48 Chalcis proper was conferred upon him. In A.D. 53 or thereabouts he gave up Chalcis, receiving in exchange the northern part of his father's kingdom (the tetrarchy of Philip and Abilene); the rest, a province kept for most purposes distinct from Syria, remaining under the government of Roman procurators. Later, under Nero, almost certainly about A.D. 55, his dominion was extended towards the south, a large and important part of Galilee (the Herodian city of Tiberias with Tarichea and tracts of country round them) and two toparchies in Peraea (Julias, also an Herodian city, and Abela) being transferred to him from the Roman province of Judaea.² This transference, however, did not affect the total area governed by the two together; what was given to Agrippa was taken from the procurator. We may note again that, approximately speaking, from A.D. 53 onwards, Agrippa II and the Roman procurator of the time (Felix at first, and later Festus) continued between them to govern all that Agrippa I was governing in A.D. 44—all, not more nor less, with the exception of a small addition to the north. This small addition was the tetrarchy of Varus. Varus, a very minor and very transient potentate, was a descendant of Soemus, the Ituraean king, whose kingdom on his death in A.D. 49 was added

¹ Cf. especially Josephus *Antiquities* xix 5, 1, where a distinction is expressly made between Abilene and what was Agrippa's by ancestral right.

² Josephus *B.J.* ii 13, 2, *A.* xx 8, 4—the date is quite clearly given as the first year of Nero.

to the province of Syria.¹ Varus, one of the native dynasty, was, it would seem, in accordance with the usual Roman policy, allowed to retain a portion of his ancestor's kingdom. But the portion left him was very small, hardly of the size of Rutland, and he held it only for four years. It lay just north of Abilene; it had once been part of it or rather of the larger Chalcis, of which Abilene had been itself a part. Varus's tenure being brief and his dominions of very small extent, its identity was lost after their amalgamation in the far larger tetrarchy of Lysanias, which had had a separate political existence for something like half a century. For a purpose such as St Luke's, Abilene could very well cover both, just as Galilee covers Peraea, and ἡ Ἰτρουπαία καὶ Τραχυνίτις χώρα covers the various constituent elements of Philip's tetrarchy, as known to us from other sources.² For some years then after A.D. 53 for his and any similar purpose St Luke's description applies to the area ruled by Agrippa II, together with the Roman procurator's province. But in A.D. 66 when the war broke out the Romans took complete control of everything, and in or about A.D. 72, after things had begun to settle down, Agrippa received such accessions to his sphere of government as extended it considerably northwards, apparently as far as northern Lebanon.

¹ Tacitus *Annales* xii 23.

² As well in fact as the title 'King of England' covers England and the Celtic fringe. While then the antiquary does and must regret the lack of precision, it is easy to understand how St Luke's interest lay in the persons bearing rule in A.D. 30 rather than in the exact boundaries of their authority; the more so as Josephus mentions the tetrarchy of Varus in the *War of the Jews* (ii 16, 8) but not in the *Antiquities* (xx 7, 1). To enable us to fix the extent and position of this tetrarchy we have quite sufficient data: (1) within narrow limits we know the boundaries of the kingdom of Chalcis under Ptolemy Mennaei and his son, Lysanias the elder; (2) again within narrow limits we know how much of it at various times went not to Soemus, the kinsman of Varus, but to other people, to the Herods, to the tetrarch of Chalcis proper, to the ruler of Abilene, to the citizens of Heliopolis and to Beyrout; these ate up most of it; (3) Soemus, king of Ituraea, therefore, who was not identical with the later Soemus, king of Emesa, had of it some 600 square miles, less rather than more; (4) of these square miles the Romans in A.D. 49, as we may be certain from what we know about their methods, retained the lion's share and the part the easiest to govern; (5) Varus, therefore, as his *solanium* would get perhaps a third or less, and that, high ground in the main, only partially reduced and civilized; (6) if then the northern boundary of Abilene was the natural one, the depression in the Anti-Lebanon just east of Heliopolis, which would place the capital, Abila, about the centre of its district, Varus got the hill-country to the north of it, or, in other words, about the area I have suggested in the text. It would be co-terminous with Abilene, as we should expect from its inclusion in it when a few years afterwards things were rounded off; (7) an area for this tetrarchy, comparatively inconsiderable in extent, which went not unnaturally with the southern Anti-Lebanon, would explain the silence of the *Antiquities* about it.

To put it briefly then ; from A.D. 37 to A.D. 44, and then again from A.D. 53 to A.D. 66 or at latest A.D. 72, but not afterwards, one of the Jewish Herods with or without the help of a Roman procurator governed an area which in extent practically agrees with the area St Luke purports to describe. Outside these dates the area thus governed was less or considerably more. These facts are certain. Any deduction from them must be to some extent a matter of opinion, but an eminently reasonable deduction is that St Luke chose this area for description because he wrote during part of the period during which these conditions prevailed. Nothing would be more natural than that he should attempt to account for the government of the 'Holy Land' of the time *at* which he wrote ; the correspondence produced between the two by the introduction of Lysanias is remarkable ; the introduction of Lysanias is puzzling, and the description fits only just a few years, and these the few years during which the writing of the Gospel and the Acts may well have taken place. Moreover, if we may make the reasonable assumption that the author of the Gospel and the Acts was also the author of the *ἡμεῖς*-passages, he was in Palestine about A.D. 60 and had seen or heard much of Agrippa, Felix, and Festus, the successors in about a generation of Lysanias, Philip, Herod, and Pontius Pilate. His attention once drawn to Agrippa, many were competent to tell him all the facts, quite recent, of the family's vicissitudes and the rough outlines of the areas its members governed then and twenty years before.¹

I have said so far nothing of St Luke's alleged dependence on Josephus. So far as I can see, however, resemblances in diction point rather to the existence of a sort of literary *κοινή* of the eastern provinces, meant as Attic, than to a direct dependence. Where St Luke and Josephus narrate the same event, more often than not they either differ in their details or they disagree ; even the stock passage about Theudas (*Ant.* xx 5, 1, 2) is open to this charge ; the passage about Lysanias (*Ant.* xx 7, 1) does not look like copying. The Josephus theory, on the other hand, has difficulties of its own. It credits the author of the Gospel and the Acts with a slovenliness of method and a lack of

¹ Agrippa came, St Luke tells us, to Caesarea with Berenice in order to greet Festus. He was invited to assist at the trial of St Paul, and attended it *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*. This looks like the truth. The woman's readiness to greet the successor of her sister's husband, then under a cloud, is to those who know the facts of their relationship as eloquent as the oriental vassal's promptness to exploit the chance of making a display. If an invention, which I do not believe, it has as true a dramatic touch as Claudius Lysias's paraphrase of Acts xxi 27-40, xxii 22-29 (cf. xxiii 26-30), or the delightfully human answer of the Jews at Rome (Acts xxviii 21, 22) to St Paul, 'We know nothing officially against *you*, but we don't altogether like your friends.'

earnestness of purpose, which do occur in journalism and elsewhere, but require proof in his case. It implies also a late date for the Gospel and the Acts. This is not in itself impossible; but it leaves us with the task of explaining the absence of all knowledge of the fall of Jerusalem and of the deaths of St Peter and St Paul, which is very far from easy.¹ The case for 61 or thereabouts is not disposed of by any means. Perhaps then, in conclusion, I may put my case thus. If St Luke were writing in the early sixties, he would be describing how the Holy Land of the time *at* which he wrote was governed thirty years before. The truth of the converse does not follow of necessity—he may, for instance, not have kept up to date or, though I doubt it, he may be just a journalist; but the converse is highly probable; and we have a point most certainly to be considered, when an attempt is made to fix the date of writing, especially as at first sight, and even on examination, Jerusalem was not yet destroyed when ‘St Luke’ wrote and St Peter and St Paul were still alive.

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¹ As hard in fact as it would be 2,000 years hence to assign to 1915 or any later date a writer (*floruit* limited to 1900–1940) of two volumes on the history of a great religious movement in Belgium in the last decades of last century, who gave no hint of the destruction of the country, whether he was an original authority or no and whatever may have been his point of view.

PHILO ON EDUCATION.

THAT the ancient world took a great interest in the subject of education is attested by innumerable scattered allusions and observations. Yet it is remarkable that very little systematic or formal writing on the subject survives. That Aristippus and Theophrastus, Zeno and Cleanthes and Chrysippus, Cato and Varro all wrote treatises on education we learn on the authority of Diogenes Laertius and others.¹ But nothing of them survives and very little is known of their views. If we may set aside the *Republic*, we are practically left with the fifth book of the *Politics*, the first two books of Quintilian, and the treatise *περὶ ἀγωγῆς παιδῶν* which is bound up with Plutarch's *Moralia*. Of these three Aristotle is not, I think, for practical purposes of great importance. Neither his general outlook nor his treatment of details seems to have greatly influenced the theory or practice of later times. Well before the date of our era, the system of the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* had been firmly established. It consisted of (1) *Grammaticæ*: originally the

¹ A collection of these is given by Wyttenbach in his introductory note to the *De Lib. Ed. Plutarch. Mor.* vol. vi p. 66.

literary and critical study of the poets, historians and orators, but tending more and more to include scientific grammar in our sense of the word; (2) rhetoric: including the theory, and carefully graduated exercises culminating in the declamation; (3) geometry: which included arithmetic and a certain amount of astronomy; (4) music: to which still adhered something but by no means all of the virtue which Aristotle ascribed to it. To this was added in most cases a tincture of formal philosophy, at any rate of dialectic. Drawing (*γραφική*), on which Aristotle lays considerable stress, appears to have dropped out of the curriculum. Now I do not suppose that this system was based on any definite theory of education. Probably it came into being through the same causes as other educational systems, namely, because people wish their children to learn what either their own generation believes or other generations have believed to be useful knowledge. At the same time we find clear evidence of two opposing theories, which while accepting the Encyclicia in practice endeavoured to justify them on general principles. The ideal of Quintilian is practical, but a broad and liberal view is taken of what is practical.¹ The object of education is to make an orator, but as the ideal orator must be a good man, both good discipline and a knowledge of ethics are essential. And as there is no form of knowledge which cannot become the subject of oratory, he must study all the Encyclicia, while music will give him grace and melody of voice, and geometry will train him to logical reasoning. Throughout this disquisition, Quintilian clearly indicates that he wishes to keep education out of the hands of the professed philosopher. Not only the ethical branch of philosophy, but the logical and physical also are useful enough, but they are part of a rhetorical education, and the pupil need not go to the philosopher's lecture room to acquire them. In fact, the philosopher evidently is to him what the priest is to many modern educationists. And even if we had only Quintilian we might be sure that there was another theory, in which philosophy was the one thing needful and general education was only valued in so far as it led up to philosophy. This theory we find in pseudo-Plutarch. Here the general remarks on discipline do not differ vitally from Quintilian's, but when we come to the subject of school work itself, we find that while the writer admits that the whole *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* has to be taken, it should be taken *ἐκ παραδρομῆς ὡςπερὶ γεύματος ἔνεκεν*: but philosophy must hold the first place (*πρὸς βεβαίειν*). In a genuine treatise of Plutarch *De audiendo poetas* the relation of one of the most important branches of the Encyclicia to philosophy is discussed. Here it is laid down that poetry is to be valued because of the numerous pieces of sound morality to be found

¹ Vide particularly Quint. i 10.

in it, which are rendered palatable to the young through the poetical form. In fact, Plutarch does little more than restate the famous dictum of Lucretius (*de Rer. Nat.* 936):—

‘sed ueluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
contingunt mellis dulci flauoque liquore,’ &c.

In Seneca *Ep.* 88 we find a somewhat similar view to that of pseudo-Plutarch. The Encyclia (*liberales artes*) prepare the soul for philosophy (‘non perducunt animum ad uirtutem sed expediunt’). But this is somewhat grudgingly admitted, and the greater part of the letter is a polemic against the Encyclia. On the whole, philosophy seems to have undertaken the patronage of the accepted system somewhat reluctantly. The Cynic and the Epicurean repudiated it to the last. Even in the Stoic schools Zeno declared the *ἐγκύκλια* to be *ἄχρηστα*,¹ and though Chrysippus reversed this, something of a reaction appears in Posidonius.² At the best the Encyclia are admitted to be a preparation. How they prepare is, so far as our evidence goes, never seriously discussed.

Now it is one of the many interesting points in Philo that he gives us a genuine discussion of this very important question. Our main source is the treatise *περὶ συνόδου πρὸς τὰ προπαιδεύματα*. The title has been Latinized as *De congressu eruditionis gratia*,³ and this version seems to have been accepted without question. But it is clearly a mistake. The meaning of the Greek is, as the whole treatise shews,

On mating *with* the preliminary forms of training’, and the book discusses the results produced by the intercourse of the soul with these subjects. Abraham, the soul—so runs the allegory—is married to Sarah, who stands for wisdom. Such a union should produce wise words, blameless thoughts, and noble actions. But the soul is not at first ripe for it, and Sarah is barren. She therefore sends the soul to mate with Hagar the Egyptian, whose name signifies sojourning (*παροίκησις*), while Egypt stands for the external senses. In plain words, the boy who is not yet ripe for philosophy must have a preliminary training in the Encyclia, in which the use of the external senses plays so great a part and which can only be temporarily useful. So Abraham finds Hagar fruitful and Ishmael is born. But in time Sarah ~~can bear~~ a child to Abraham, and then Hagar and Ishmael must ~~be cast out~~.

¹ Diog. Laert. vii 32, and 129. I imagine that the general attitude of the Stoics is given by the epithet *μέσα*. This technical term of Stoicism, equivalent of *κατάλογος*, stand it aright, to *ἀδιάφορα*, is constantly used by Philo of the *Encyclia* and *κατάλογος* represents accepted usage.

² So I understand Sen. *Ep.* 88, 21, &c. Nor does *Antiochus* seem to take the passage differently.

³ Sometimes *De cong.* ‘*quaerendae*’ *er. grat.*

School studies must not be prolonged when we are ripe for something higher.

The allegory is not altogether original. In pseudo-Plutarch we have a hint of the figure of *παροίκησις* probably derived from some earlier teaching. For the writer, after remarking that the Encyclia are to be taken *ἐκ παραδρομῆς*,¹ goes on to say that it is well to travel to many cities, but to live only in one—the best. And the story of Sarah and Hagar is clearly outlined in a saying, which he quotes from Bion,² that those who being unable to win philosophy wear themselves out in the *προπαιδεύματα* are like the suitors of Penelope, who when they could not win the mistress contented themselves with the maids. This saying is elsewhere attributed to Aristippus and Ariston of Chios, and is clearly one of those accepted Homeric allegories on which Philo modelled his use of the Old Testament. But the transformation of Penelope and her maids into Sarah and Hagar is a very happy touch. The Homeric allegory stated the view of the later Stoics at any rate very inadequately. In their eyes the training given by the Encyclia was only temporarily valuable, but it was valuable; it was inferior, but it was legitimate. And this thought the Old Testament story hit off with curious felicity.

So far Philo has not carried us much further than pseudo-Plutarch and Seneca, but he then proceeds to discuss what the various influences of the Encyclia are.³ *Grammaticæ*⁴ dealing with poets and prose-writers produces intelligence and wide knowledge (*πολυμάθεια*), and teaches us to despise vanities through the picture of the misfortunes which demigods and heroes experience in the pages of literature. Music charms away the unrhythmical and unmelodious and brings the soul into harmony. Geometry plants the seeds of equality and analogy, and by its logical continuity (*συνεχῆς θεωρία*) creates a love for justice. Rhetoric sharpens the mind to *θεωρία* (the *εὔρεσις* of the technical rhetorician), trains and welds thought to expression, and thus makes the man truly *λογικός*. Dialectic is the twin of rhetoric and shews us how to distinguish truth from falsehood.

In the first list of the Encyclia astronomy is included but never appears again, though as Philo's lists are seldom exhaustive, this need not imply that he intended to exclude it. Indeed, as geometry seems to have been regarded generally as including some elementary astronomy, it is reasonable to suppose that Philo took this view. But there are other passages⁵ in which astronomy seems to occupy a higher or at

¹ *De Lib. Ed.* 10.

² *Ibid.*

³ *De Cong.* 4.

⁴ *Grammaticæ* with Philo is not yet divided into *μεθοδική* = our 'grammar' and *ιστορικὴ*, literary criticism, &c. The literary side is still predominant.

⁵ e.g. *De Mig. Ab.* 32, &c.; *De Gig.* 14.

least a different place in Philo's system. It is rather a philosophy in itself, a false or inferior philosophy indeed, but still something more than a mere stepping-stone like the Encyclia. The soul which cultivates this astronomical philosophy is represented by Abram in Chaldaea. When he left Chaldaea, he entered so to speak on another state of existence. I imagine that the explanation of this is that 'astronomy' in these passages rather means 'astrology', a science which Philo seems to regard with distrust mingled with a sort of respect. The astronomy which the schoolboy learnt in connexion with geometry was of a simpler kind and free from the astrological taint. So at least it appears in Quintilian.

Amongst the judgements above mentioned on the various subjects, that on *grammaticæ* is perhaps the most interesting. Elsewhere he speaks of the student of *grammaticæ* as nurtured in *ᾠγύγαι δόξαι*, 'time-honoured thoughts'. A reverence for the past and its records is indeed a leading idea with Philo. It finds perhaps its happiest expression in the *De Abr.* 4, where the phrase 'Enoch was not found' is explained as meaning that the good man loves to hide himself in some solitude, 'communing with those best of men whose bodies time has dissolved, but the fire of their virtues lives in poetry and prose'. The remark that literature is valuable because the picture of the misfortunes of heroes and demigods teaches us to despise vain dreams is also noticeable.¹ A similar breadth of view characterizes his remarks on the other subjects. In all it is not their direct bearing on philosophy nor yet the usefulness of the knowledge obtained that justifies these studies. It is rather that they give a certain tone and colour to the mind.

That Hagar and Ishmael should be cast out after the birth of Isaac is a natural conclusion both from the Bible and from the general views of the philosophical educationist. In the *De Congressu* itself this conclusion is never actually drawn, though it is perhaps implied in the censure of those who grow 'old in poetry or geometrical problems, or musical colours'.² But in the *De Cherubim* the point is clearly made. Philo's theory was indeed rather embarrassed by the two flights of Hagar.

¹ It reminds me of a letter of one who inherited much of Philo's love of culture, Gregory of Nazianzus. Writing (*Ep.* 165) to Timotheus ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος in affliction, he says γένου σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν βιβλίων αἷς καθωμίληκας ἐν αἷς πολλοὶ μὲν βίοι, πολλοὶ δὲ τρόποι, πολλὰ δὲ ἡδοναὶ καὶ λειότητες, πολλὰ δὲ ὡς τὸ εἶκος σύμφοροι καὶ τραχύτητες. Christians and Jews both felt how clearly the lesson of resignation is taught in Greek literature.

² Οἱ μὲν ἐν ποιήμασι, οἱ δὲ ἐν γραμμαῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐν χρωμάτων κράσεσι. It is perhaps pardonable that Yonge's translation takes the last words to refer to drawing and painting. But (1) *γραμμαί* is, I think, generally used of geometry, (2) musical 'colours' have just been mentioned.

The first flight (cf. Gen. xvi), which was voluntary and because Sarah (or rather Sarai) afflicted her, is not explained very satisfactorily. Affliction means righteous discipline, and the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* is conceived of as wishing to escape the 'austere and gloomy life of the lover of virtue'. Philo may perhaps mean that education when conducted under the philosophical ideal was apt to assume a dullness which deterred the student. To judge from the dull treatment of poetry by Plutarch, this is not unlikely to have been the case. But if so the allegory would seem to demand a flight of Abraham rather than of Hagar. The expulsion of Gen. xxi presents no difficulties. When Sarai (*ἀρχή μου*), that is, wisdom in its partial and specific aspect, has become the generic wisdom, when Isaac or *εὐδαιμονία* has been born, the time has come to cast out the bondwoman and her son for ever. No doubt such an expulsion was often 'very grievous in Abraham's sight'. Many a student in those days must have felt great reluctance to leave the charms of *grammaticæ* and rhetoric. But such a student must yield to the oracle which says to him, 'In all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice'. The claims of philosophy are paramount (*Leg. All.* iii 87).

I do not suppose that we know how widely opportunities for an encyclical education were extended in Philo's world, but no doubt many who took to philosophy later had either never had, or had not used, such opportunities.¹ In *De Gig.* 13 Philo tells us that such men feeling the loss that they sustained through want of a grounding often went back in later life to the Encyclia. This reversal of the natural order is, he says, quite wrong. When Laban said 'It is not the custom in our place to give the younger before the elder' he laid down falsely (*ψευδογραφεῖ*) a law contrary to that of nature. And the worst of such a practice is that many of these later students of the Encyclia never get back to philosophy at all. Partly no doubt because some of them, e.g. music and geometry, are no doubt difficult to acquire in later years, partly also, I believe, because the Encyclia as a whole had for a widespread public a charm and romance which they have now for only a few.

There is one question on which Philo seems to have gone against the general opinion of antiquity. The usual view was that formal education should begin when the child had passed his seventh year. Some indeed would have put the date of beginning earlier, amongst whom was Quintilian himself, though he admits that there was a great body of opinion

¹ Amongst such, at a later date, was perhaps Justin Martyr. I do not know on what grounds the article in *Diet. Christ. Biog.* says 'that he speaks of having received a thoroughly Greek education'. He tells us at any rate that he had not learnt music or geometry (*Dial.* ii).

against him. Aristotle would have the child between five and seven be 'a spectator of the forms of learning which he would have to study'. Amongst the fathers Jerome holds to the seven years' principle, while Chrysostom¹ acquiesces in a child beginning at five. Philo stands alone, so far as I know, in wishing to postpone all schooling till a later age.² Abraham before he lived in Canaan sojourned in Egypt. Now Egypt, which typifies *πάθη*, here means the age of childhood, in which the soul dwells with pains, fears, and the like, which come to us through the senses, while the reasoning powers are not yet able to distinguish between virtue and vice. But when we enter the second stage of life, apparently at seven, we enter Canaan, which signifies wickedness.³ The child becomes *λογικός*, he can distinguish right and wrong, but he generally chooses the wrong—such is Philo's curiously pessimistic view of boyhood. But the fact that he has become *λογικός* does not necessarily fit him for instruction in the Encyclia. The intellect is fluid or flabby (*πλαδῶσα*), and it is only after a further period that we can approach them with profit. And therefore it was that Abraham did not take Hagar till ten years after he had entered Canaan. Not that 'ten' is to be pressed. It is merely the perfect number. The truth intended is that some considerable time should be allowed to elapse, and that the plan of forcing the Encyclia upon young boys really misses its aim.

Hagar and Ishmael are the prevailing parabolic form by which the Encyclia are represented, but there are others. The familiar figure of 'milk'⁴ as opposed to meat occurs once or twice. On the other hand, their unsubstantial character is shewn in *De Sac. Ab.* 43 by comparing them to a fragrance. Viewed in this light they are represented by Keturah, whose name signifies *θυμῶσα*. Somewhat similar perhaps is a fine passage in *De Cher.* 101. Here the soul appears as the earthly house of the invisible God. Of this house the Encyclia are the ornaments, 'just as in an ordinary house plasterings (*κονιάματα*) and pictures and arrangements of costly stones do not contribute to its strength, but delight the dwellers therein'.⁵ In *De Agr.* 18 the Encyclia are saplings

¹ Quint. i 1, 15. Arist. *Pol.* iv 17. Jer. *Ep.* 98. Chrysostom, Migne vol. iii c. 125.

² *De Congr.* 15, &c.

³ Compare *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 59, where an even gloomier picture is drawn of the age from seven to fourteen (!). This is *ἡ ἱπαρατογάη ἡλικία*. Its passions are compared to the fire of Ex. xxii 6 which 'catches in thorns, so that the standing corn, or the stacks, is consumed'.

⁴ e.g. *de Agr.* 2.

⁵ This conception appears also in Sen. *Ep.* 88 to be rejected: 'At enim delectat artium notitia multarum . . . an tu existimas reprehendendum, qui supervacua usu sibi comparat et pretiosarum rerum pompam in domo explicat: non potius eum, qui occupatus est in supervacua litterarum supellectile?'

(μοσχεύματα) which are planted in childish minds. They are contrasted with the trees of folly, which must be cut down, and the full-grown trees of philosophy. The same sort of classification is found in *De Gig.* 60, where the lover of bodily things is earth-born, the student of the Encyclia and the other arts heaven-born, the philosopher—the true priest and prophet—God-born. In *De Mut.* 229, &c. the story of Abraham's prayer for Sodom is utilized. Where fifty men were not attainable God would accept ten. And so where true philosophy is not to be found, He may accept the Encyclia. In *De Fug.* 183 we have a more elaborate allegory founded on Elim with its twelve fountains and seventy palm-trees. Elim itself signifies 'vestibule', and the Encyclia are the vestibule of philosophy. So, too, the fountains themselves are more especially the Encyclia. Beside them Israel thirsting for knowledge encamps rather than by the palm-trees which are the prize of those who aim at perfect virtue. Again in *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* 272 &c., the Encyclia (or perhaps their result) are the ἀποσκευὴ πολλή or much substance, with which it was promised (Gen. xv 14) that Israel should depart from Egypt. The soul descending from heaven, if it maintains its true nature amidst the constraints of the body, obtains from the Encyclia provision (ἐφόδια) for its heavenward return.¹

There are two places in Philo in which I seem to find a different kind of conception. One is a long section in the *De Ebr.* 9 &c. Philo has been commenting on Deut. xxi 18 &c., where the parents are told to denounce the disobedient and profligate son. In the allegory which Philo founds on this the father is ὁρθὸς λόγος or philosophy, the mother is the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία. Now there are children who are disobedient to both their parents. Such was the child of whom the parents say 'This our son is stubborn and rebellious,' &c., and who 'is put away from among you'. But the words 'this our son' imply other children. These may be divided into three classes. These are (1) those who respect their mother but not their father, (2) those who respect their father but not their mother, (3) those who respect both.

¹ I think this last illustration has had a descendant of some importance. The πολλή ἀποσκευὴ would naturally be connected with the spoiling of the Egyptians (Ex. xii 38). In his letter to Gregory Thaumaturgus (Migne i 87) Origen, evidently adopting Philo's theory of the Encyclia, but substituting secular learning in general for the Encyclia and Christian truth for philosophy, suggests that Ex. xii 37 is an allegorical representation of the Christian taking and using the Pagan's treasure. From Origen this parable was passed on to Augustine (*De Doct. Christ.* ii). No doubt a different turn is given to the allegory. The point is no longer that the treasure serves as ἐφόδια, but that it is the spoil taken from the Pagan. Still, considering the evident dependence of Origen on Philo, it is surely probable that he had the passage in *Quis Rer.* in his mind. See Norden *A. K. P.* pp. 676, 679, who does not, however, suggest a connexion with Philo, nor is this instance amongst the list of connexions between Origen and Philo drawn up by Siegfried.

Of these the first tend to follow exclusively what is *θέσει* but not *φύσει* *δίκαιον*, and are liable to constant change at the bidding of human opinion. Those who follow the father only (these, of course, are the professed philosophers) are in a sense highly praiseworthy. They are the true priesthood, they have sacrificed all human weaknesses, even as the Levites at Moses's bidding 'slew every man his brother and every man his neighbour'. And yet the highest place belongs to those who honour both parents, who have the wisdom to seek after God through philosophy, yet to honour the customs and laws of men. For life is *πολύτροπος*, and needs that the wisdom which guides it should be many sided.

In this allegory, as I have said, Philo seems to me to put forth a different conception of the common education. It is no longer the preparation for philosophy, but an influence which tempers it and accommodates it to life. It is closely connected with the conventional side of things. It creates law and custom as opposed to abstract reason and justice. In fact, he has slipped more or less into the rhetorical or sophistical view, which held that the study of the Encyclia equipped a man with the power of getting on in the world.

Somewhat different again is the conception brought out in a fine passage in *De Somn.* i 35. Philo is speaking of the flock of Jacob and Laban, described as (1) *διάλευκοι*, (2) *ποικίλοι*, (3) *σποδοειδείς ραντοί*, and proceeds to discuss the meaning of *ποικίλος*. He says something about the vast variety of the universe, and then goes on to speak of the 'lover of wisdom', who takes from the elementary¹ (*παιδική*) branch of *grammatic* reading and writing, from the more advanced branch criticism of poetry and the restoration of the past through history, from arithmetic and geometry the element of absolute certainty (*τὸ ἀνεξάπαιτον*), from music rhythm, metre, harmony and the like, from rhetoric invention, arrangement, style, memory, delivery, from philosophy what these fail to give and what goes to make up a full human life. Thus the learner weaves a rich garland of flowers and blends wide knowledge (*πολυμάθεια*) with ability to learn still more (*εὐμάθεια*). Here the division between philosophy and the Encyclia is for a moment forgotten and the world of knowledge is conceived of as a world where 'the different qualities blended together make up one harmonious symphony'.

These last two passages, though they strike a different note, do not of course contradict Philo's dominant conception of education as something really good, but a preparation for something higher. There are, however, other passages which at first sight do seem to contradict this view. That Ishmael should be cast out when Isaac is born or at least

¹ Commonly called *γραμματιστική*.

developed, is, as we have seen, natural enough, and does not asperse the value of Ishmael in his proper time or place. But there are some places where Ishmael is spoken of with disrespect. Thus in *De Fug.* 38¹ the text 'his hand shall be against every man', &c. is explained as meaning that Ishmael is a 'sophist' who rejoices in eristic reasoning and shoots at the followers of true learning. Again in *De Cher.* 3 the Encyclia are declared to be σοφιστεία providing persuasive arguments to destroy the soul. Now we must not press the words σοφιστής and σοφιστεία. They were often used in a not unfavourable sense, but still the general sense in these places does seem unfavourable. I imagine that the explanation is that in such places Ishmael suggests not so much encyclic learning itself as the professors of it. Philo had a real reverence for the learning, but he did not like the teachers. Not only did he consider that they had deserted Sarah permanently for Hagar, but he saw in them a vanity and contentiousness which probably really existed to some extent and was particularly visible to the rival race of philosophers.

Here we may leave the Encyclia; but a few words should be said on the allegory constantly recurring in Philo, by which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob² are regarded as types of those who learn respectively through instruction, nature, and practice. The formula φύσις, μάθησις, ἀσκησις is very frequent in literature of this kind. It may perhaps be traced back to Archytas, and certainly to Plato's *Phaedrus*, the original source of many a rhetorical and educational idea. It is quoted by Diogenes Laertius from Aristotle, and is dilated on by ps-Plutarch. It appears also in Latin writers, as Cornificius and Quintilian. The formula bears two somewhat different meanings. In a wider sense it means that ἀρετή is attained through knowledge of what is right acquired intellectually, through natural qualities, and through self-discipline. In a narrower and pedagogic sense it means that knowledge is acquired by instruction from others, intelligence, and industry. In this last sense it lays down that good teaching is as necessary to progress as ability and industry on the part of the pupil. It is in this sense that it is understood by the schoolmaster Quintilian, and I should imagine by the great mass of people who lived in a world which laid great stress and value on the influence of the teacher. I am not sure that I understand Philo completely on this point, but I do not think

¹ See also *De Mut.* 38.

² I cannot help suspecting that this is founded on some Homeric triad, just as Odysseus, Menelaus, and Nestor are frequently given as types of the three styles of oratory. Odysseus might have well stood for ἀσκησις, and Achilles for μάθησις, on the grounds of the much-quoted words of Phoenix, *Il.* ix 441-442. But who in this case was φύσις?

that he uses the formula in this latter sense. I have already spoken of his dislike for the teachers of the Encyclia, and I do not think he shews much appreciation of teachers as a whole. In an interesting passage of the *De Post. Cain* 42 he describes the attitude of the true teacher. When Isaac said to Rebecca 'Give me to drink', she did not reply 'I will give you drink', but 'Drink'. This last is the language of one who displays before the learner the divine riches, the former is the language of the professional (ἐπαγγελλόμενος) teacher. He goes on to say how foolish are those teachers who base their lessons not on the powers of their pupils, but on their own high attainments, not knowing how greatly display (ἐπιδείξις) differs from true teaching. All this, of course, does not exclude the possibility of the true teacher, but it suggests that the more he confines himself to offering opportunities to the pupil the better. In the *De Cong.* 127 we are told that teachers who get a clever pupil pride themselves unduly on the result and raise their fees in consequence. So again in the *Vita Mosis*, where an imaginary sketch is given of Moses's education,¹ though there are instructors, their position is a very subordinate one, for Moses in a short time 'anticipated their instructions by his natural abilities'. It is not clear (at least to me) why Abraham should be the type of the διδασκός, and Isaac of the αὐτομαθής, but, at any rate, it is clear that Abraham has no human instructor.

Perhaps the acutest remarks of Philo on education are to be found in a passage (*De Agr.* 131 &c.)² where he discourses on the Mosaic enactment that every beast is unclean which does not 'chew the cud and divide the hoof'. The true meaning of this is that learning involves two processes. We must divide and classify the material presented to us, and this is 'dividing the hoof' (διχληεῖν). We must then ruminate on it at leisure. There are some learners who, like the camel, are unclean, because they do not ruminate. But, on the other hand, the great mass of 'sophists', among whom seem to be included the teachers of philosophy, as well as those of the Encyclia, pay far too much attention to τὸ διχληεῖν, and are therefore typified by the pig. Philo proceeds to describe in detail the distinctions created by the grammarian, the rhetorician, the musician, the geometrician, as well as the dialectician. Much of this diatribe is rather unjust. Geometry, for

¹ The passage has some curious details. The Egyptians taught Moses arithmetic, music, and geometry, including Egyptian astronomy, which it is suggested differed from Chaldaean astronomy (astrology?). The Chaldaeans taught him 'Assyrian letters' and their own astronomy. The Greeks taught him the rest of the Encyclia. Does this suggest that music and mathematics flourished in Philo's time in Egypt more than in the rest of the Greek world? Or is Philo following Plato *Leg.* vii 799 and 819?

² Also *De Spec. Leg.* iv 5.

instance, cannot really be described as a science in which τὸ διχλεῖν plays too great a part. But, on the whole, Philo does surely lay his finger on the weak point of the science of his time. The fashion for making pigeon-holes and distinctions, without sufficiently considering what can be made of them, was a real evil. It had its excellent side. It certainly cultivated the legal mind, and we owe to it perhaps the stability which belongs to the Codes and the Creeds, yet on the whole its character is not summed up amiss by Galen when he speaks of it τὸ τῆς φιλοριστίας νόσημα.

The subject of Philo on Education seems to me interesting for two reasons. In the first place, it is strange to find one of the most vexed questions of classical antiquity most fully discussed in the work of this semi-hellenized Jew—to find the old issue between the sophist and the philosopher stated to us in terms of the Old Testament. It may perhaps be said that there is nothing really strange—that all it means is that while the work of the post-Aristotelian philosophers has for the most part perished, Philo has been preserved by his affinities to Christianity. Perhaps so, but this irony of time seems to me none the less interesting.

In the second place, the views of Philo have had a permanent influence on Christian thought on education. The question of what attitude the Church should adopt to pagan learning was, of course, one of the most difficult and important which the Church had to face, and her decision was clearly influenced by the philosophical theory of education. What the Encyclicia had been to philosophy, that the Encyclicia plus philosophy became to theology. That is the view of Clement and Origen. They might, no doubt, have derived the idea from the philosophers in general, had Philo never written. But their direct obligation to Philo is beyond question.¹ From Origen the same thought is passed on to Ambrose, Augustine, and Cassiodorus, and from them into the Middle Ages. And perhaps it is not too much to say that the mediaeval conception of theology and its relation to the other faculties in our Universities may ultimately be traced back to Philo's view of the relation of philosophy to the Encyclicia.

F. H. COLSON.

¹ The evidence for this is given in Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria* pp. 343 &c.

SOME COPTIC APOCRYPHA.

DR BUDGE's last volume of Coptic texts from British Museum MSS, issued by the Trustees in 1915, contains some very interesting apocryphal matter, upon which I have so far seen no comment, which under present conditions is not surprising. I will venture notices of two or three of the documents.

I

The 'Twentieth Discourse' of Cyril of Jerusalem on the Virgin contains an account of a monk, Annarichos of Maioma, who was reported to Cyril as teaching heresy. Cyril sent for him, and the interview is related. The monk described himself as a follower of 'the holy bishop Sator, and Ebion who succeeded him', and also of Harporatius (Carpocrates?), who could cast out devils. Called upon for an account of his teaching, he said: 'It is written in the (Gospel) according to the Hebrews (*hem phata hebraios*) that when Christ wished to come upon the earth to men, the good Father called a mighty power (*δύναμις*) in the heavens which was called Michael, and committed Christ to the care thereof. And the power came down into the world and it was called Mary, and he (Christ) was in her womb seven months. Afterwards she gave birth to Him, and he increased in stature, and chose the Apostles . . . He fulfilled the appointed time (*προθεσμία*) . . . After the Jews had raised Him upon the cross, the Father took Him up into heaven unto Himself.' Cyril asked: 'Where in the four Gospels is it said that the holy Virgin Mary is a *δύναμις*?' Answer. 'In that *κατὰ Εβραίους*.' Cyril: 'Then according to you there are five Gospels.' 'Yes.' 'What is the fifth? The four Gospels have titles "according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John". Whose is the fifth?' 'It is that which was written for the Hebrews.' After some general remarks from Cyril, in which he quoted the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, the monk declared himself convinced of his error, and requested that his books might be burnt. It is possible that Cyril said something more of interest, but most unluckily a leaf is gone at this point. No more is said of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Confused as is the account given by the monk of this fifth Gospel, we may see in it at least a reflexion of a Gospel of the kind that used to be called Gnostic. It would be difficult to defend the view that the Gospel according to the Hebrews which Jerome knew identified

Michael with Mary, making the latter an incarnation of the former! and it is only less difficult to suppose that Epiphanius would have missed the chance of declaiming against such a doctrine if he had read it in his Ebionite Gospel. On the same lines the Gospel of Peter is excluded. But that the passage may represent the teaching of some Gnostic group I see no reason to doubt. In an earlier page of his discourse Cyril says: 'Let Ebion now be ashamed, and Harpocratius, these godless heretics who say in their madness that *Mary* was a *δύναμις* of God, which took the form of a woman and came upon the earth and was called Mary, and gave birth to Emmanuel for us. Does it not follow . . . that Christ did not take flesh upon himself,' &c.

There are other curious points in the discourse. Cyril expresses his disbelief in the fabulous lives of the Virgin, and tells her story, in fact, with some sobriety. She is identified, however, with all the other Marias of the Gospels including Mary Magdalene. Her parents were Joakim (= Kleopas) and Anna, her grandparents David (or Aaron) and Sara. The rejection of Joakim's offering, and the picturesque details of the birth and childhood are all pruned away. The story of the death is told at some length, but its end is quite unexpected. The Jews attack the funeral procession and the Apostles flee, leaving the body on the bier. The Jews burn the bier, but the body is nowhere to be found: their fruitless search for it is stopped by a voice from heaven, which bids no man seek for it before the judgement day.

The discourse of Demetrius on the Birth of our Lord, which follows, has some telling details. I will extract one. When Mary was dwelling under Joseph's care, 'the angels were round about her at all times . . . and they were in the form of doves, or some other kind of holy bird. They flew about her in the place where she used to sit working at her handicraft, and they would alight upon the windows of her room.'

II

The Dying Prayer of St Athanasius (p. 1019) enables us to restore a puzzling passage in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (Steindorff's *Anonymous Apocalypse*). Athanasius says: 'Heaven and earth hang upon His word, even as a drop of water hangeth from a potter's vessel (κἀδος).' The passage in the Apocalypse (p. 37, *T. u. U. N. F.* ii 3) is

(I saw)
the whole earth, how it
. . . like as a drop of water
(illegible line)
when it came up . . . a . . . spring

Also the same words occur near together on the almost wholly illegible

page of the Sahidic *Apoc. of Zephaniah* (p. 114), viz. 'heaven', 'a drop of water', upon a'. The metaphor is that of a drop of water hanging to a jar when it is drawn up out of a well. This is not the place to discuss the question of the identity of the *Anonymous Apocalypse* with that of Zephaniah, of which I am well convinced: but the small point I bring forward here is one of a good many that are in favour of that identity.

III

The Discourse on St Michael by Timothy, Abp. of Alexandria, adds another to the list of Johannine Apocrypha, native to Egypt. It quotes *in extenso* a book found by Timothy at Jerusalem which had been written by Proclus (Prochorus?), the disciple of John, a late and wild production containing an Inferno which has some antique features.

IV

But the last document in the volume is by far the most interesting. It is a Coptic version of the greater part of the Apocalypse of Paul: a version of which hitherto nothing had been heard. More space may reasonably be devoted to this.

Tischendorf's Greek Text and the Syriac and Latin versions (the last is printed in my *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1st series) are our best authorities for this book: and of these the Latin is in some respects the first, for the Greek original has reached us in a rather shortened form. Tischendorf divided his text into fifty-one sections, and I have followed his division in printing the Latin.

The Coptic begins in the sixteenth of these sections and is continuous, with small gaps, until late in the fiftieth, when we are startled by a note of Dr Budge's. 'Fifty-two pages wanting.' We should read 'Two'. The explanation of the mistake is given in a footnote.¹

It has long been recognized that the Apocalypse is imperfect. The Greek, Latin, and Syriac all end the vision at the same point. Paul has met Elijah and Enoch (or Elijah and Elisha: Syr. Lat.), and Elijah is telling him how he prayed for a drought, how the angels interceded for men, and how God said: 'Be patient until my servant Elijah prays, and I will send rain upon the earth.' The Syriac has contrived a smoother ending by adding a few words and subjoining the

¹ A footnote on p. clxii. (Budge) tells us the quires of the MS are disordered. Dr Budge has printed them as they stand (1) and his arithmetic has become confused in spite of the fact that the pages of the MS are numbered. The volume (Brit. Mus. Or. 7022) consists of pp. 1-14 (Encomium of St Raphael, imperfect), 79-126, 129-140 (Apocalypse of Paul); pp. 15-78 (both inclusive) and 127-128 are missing. The remarks 'about 80 pages wanting' (p. 534), 52 pp. wanting (pp. 556 and 1076) are quite wrong; that on p. 1042 'about 64 pages wanting' is alone correct.

story of the discovery of the book at Tarsus, which in Gr. Lat. begins the book, and no doubt did so in the Coptic. But the imperfection is clear. Elijah has not finished his speech, his companion has said nothing, and there is no hint of how Paul returned to earth.

Now it is a chief point of interest in the Coptic that it continues the text on the same lines and carries on the story for a considerable time (some eight pages in Dr Budge's translation). Elijah finishes his speech, Enoch addresses Paul, and then there are meetings with Zacharias and John Baptist, Abel, and Adam. After that Paul is carried up into the third heaven, and there is a curious *double* vision of Paradise, in which much of what has gone before is repeated in shorter form. (We need not be surprised at almost any quantity of repetition in this Apocalypse: Paul has already been to Paradise twice.) Then the angel carries him back to the Mount of Olives, where he finds the Apostles. After hearing Paul's story, they command 'me Mark, and Timothy' to put the Apocalypse into writing. Our Lord then appears, greets the Apostles with apostrophes familiar to readers of Coptic Acts, blesses the readers of the Apocalypse, foretells the death of Peter and Paul on the 5th of the month Epeph, and dismisses them all on a cloud to their several countries.

I cannot suppose that the original Apocalypse ended just in this way: there is an admixture of native Egyptian stuff in these last pages, the extent of which it is not easy to define. But I have no doubt that in them the original conclusion is embodied—a point of some interest.

The Coptic gives upon the whole a fairly faithful representation of the Greek. There are three insertions in the body of the text, of appreciable length. In § 16 (pp. 1043–1044) is a description of the ministers of punishment, and of the torments they inflict. They have the faces of lions, bulls, bears, asses, crocodiles. In § 31 (p. 1058) is half a page telling of the pits of hell which are of various depths and filled with various torments. It is quite pointless where it stands. In § 46 (p. 1072: speech of the Virgin to Paul) are a dozen lines promising rewards to those who copy or read the Apocalypse: this is 'common form' in Coptic books. All these insertions I do not hesitate to attribute to the Coptic translator, and it is no more than natural to credit him with having dressed up the conclusion of the book as well.

Dr Budge's translation has suffered in this, as in preceding volumes, from insufficient use of other texts. By the help of these it is not difficult to correct a good many errors. A footnote on Temeluchos (p. 1060) ought to be deleted. It is quite wrong, and obliterates an interesting and decisive witness to the use of the Apocalypse of Peter by the author of *Paul*.

M. R. JAMES.

EGO SALATHIEL QUI ET EZRAS.

WHO was the supposed author of 4 Esdras? In other words, who is the Esdras whose name appears at the beginning of the book, and at intervals throughout it?

The natural and usual answer is that he is Ezra the scribe, the part-author of the canonical book of Ezra. But is this certain? If so, why, at the outset, is he called 'Salathiel who am also Esdras', and how comes it that he lives in the 30th year of the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, whereas Ezra the scribe lived 100 years later? In Esdras's time Jerusalem is lying waste: in Ezra's time it had long been restored.

To this it is answered that 4 Esdras is a composite book and that the groundwork of it is an Apocalypse of Salathiel. A redactor wished to make Ezra the vehicle of his message, and put together, with additions of his own, a good deal of Apocalyptic matter, including the Salathiel Apocalypse: and, though surprisingly clever at concealing the sutures of his patchwork, he omitted to remove the tell-tale name of Salathiel from the first lines of it (see Box *Ezra Apocalypse* i, xxii, &c.). So stated (and I think the statement is fair, though curt) the answer does not seem to me very plausible.

Did the difficulty of date appeal to any one in old times? Yes: a distinction was occasionally drawn between Esdras the prophet and Ezra the scribe. There are two texts of the (later) chapters i, ii of 4 Esdras, which I have called French and Spanish. The Spanish seems to be the older. The French text attributes to Esdras the genealogy given to Ezra in Ezra vii 1: the Spanish calls him the prophet the son of Chusi. The anonymous author of *Inventiones nominum* (J. T. S. 1903 pp. 224, 230) speaks of a Chusi as father of the major prophet Hesdras, and, further, says that there were two of the name Hesdras, one the prophet, the son of Chusi, who renewed the Scriptures from memory; the other the scribe who came back to Jerusalem; 'and between the two are about 100 years'. The author of a prologue to 4 Esdras in the erratic Leon MS (printed by Violet, p. 439) draws from this tract, and insists upon the distinction. The same authority calls the book 'liber Esdre filius cusi prophete', and in iii 1 reads (seemingly, for Violet's statement is not quite clear) 'ego sarathias filium cusi qui et esdre'.

On the other hand, writers such as Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria,

&c., who speak of the restoration of the Law, attribute it to Ezra the scribe. See the quotations in my *Introduction* (p. xxxvii).

Some persons, then, drew a distinction between Esdras the prophet and Ezra the scribe. But how could the words 'ego Salathiel qui et Ezras' be justified?

Of Salathiel (Shealtiel) we know hardly anything; but we have his genealogy in 1 Chron. iii 17.

'And the sons of Jeconiah: Assir, Salathiel his son.'

The Haggadists upon this say that Assir and Salathiel are one name: so does the author of *quaest. Hebr. in Par.*

The evidence, and the interesting story of Salathiel's birth, are to be found in a tract by M. Friedmann (*S'rubbahel*, 1890) to which Mr I. Abrahams kindly drew my attention.

Salathiel, then, had a second name, and that name was Assir (אסר). Could it be readily confused with Ezra (עזרא)? Orientalists say No. Yet something like this has happened. Gildemeister's Arabic version (made, it is thought, direct from Greek) writes El-Useir (one of the two MSS has El Asir) in iii 1: the other Arabic version has Ezra throughout.

Or, if Assir is not *confused* with Ezra, might not the identification, once made by one who had his reasons for it, seem plausible and be accepted? This is, I think, what has happened. The author of 4 Esdras has consciously invented an earlier Ezra, one who never returned to Jerusalem, and was taken up to heaven when his work was finished: impossible; therefore, to be identified with the historical Ezra. But to this creature of his imagination he has transferred one act which was, rather vaguely, attributed to the historical Ezra, namely, the restoration of the Scriptures, which he has transfigured into a miracle. I think it is correct to say that the seer and the scribe have absolutely nothing else in common. In order to mark the date of his hero, he has, once, at the beginning of the book, identified him with a historical personage of the desired date, and he was guided in his choice by the fact that this personage had a second name not very unlike that of Ezra.

But why did he choose to call his imaginary prophet Ezra? Because he desired to make the restoration of the Law the climax of his hero's work (as early as iv 23 it is said that the Law is destroyed), and, perhaps, he wished to antedate this restoration: but in view of the existing tradition that the restoration was due to Ezra, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to substitute another name for his. To invent 'another man of the same name' (particularly if he had another name as well) was unobjectionable.

Such is my conjecture as to the procedure of the author of 4 Esdras. I find it more reasonable than the belief in a redactor who was at once

supremely adroit and grossly negligent : far more reasonable than the belief that 4 Esdras is, in the commonly-received sense of the words, a composite book.

A general remark may be permitted in conclusion. We ought to remember that identifications of this kind were rife among Jewish scholars, and were made very light-heartedly. In the *Quaest. Hebr. in Reg. et Par.* many will be found. *Inter alia*, Ezra himself is said to be identical, not only with the prophet Malachi, but also with Josedech the father of Jeshua the priest, while Salathiel is Pedaiah the father of Zerubbabel. The equation Esdras=Salathiel would not be so startling to its first readers as it is to us.

M. R. JAMES.

EXTRACTS FROM A GOSPEL LECTIONARY (OLD LATIN) OF THE SPANISH CHURCH.

My friend the Rev. E. S. Buchanan, whose labours on the Old-Latin text are well known, kindly sent me, a year ago, a copy of *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. lxxii no. 288 Oct. 1915, in which his own paper 'A new Bible Text from Spain' occupies pp. 529-544. It contains a report of some results of his examination of the MS of Beatus (a Spanish contemporary of Alcuin and Charlemagne) which belonged to Mr J. Pierpont Morgan, and is said to have been purchased by a Spaniard from the convent of San Clemente, Toledo, where it had been for eight centuries. The MS was written in 968-970, and contains a commentary on the Apocalypse and on the Book of Daniel. It has a special interest as bearing evidence of correction by several hands, aiming at reducing the biblical quotations into conformity with the Vulgate or Hieronymian text. One of these correctors has dated his own contribution as introduced in 1220. Among many interesting extracts from Beatus, cited in that article, are the four which I mention here :

(a) 'Quia super hanc petram hedificabuntur a Spiritu Sancto discipuli eius' (St Matt. xvi 18).

(b) 'Pacem meam per Spiritum Sanctum do uobis. [pacem relinquo uobis] non quomodo mundus, ego a Deo do uobis' (St John xiv 27).

(c) 'Cecidit super collum eius et fleuit' (St Luke xv 20).

(d) 'Ego et pater et spiritus sanctus unum sumus' (St John x 30).

I will add here two observations from one of Mr Buchanan's contributions to the series of Notes and Studies in the *Journal of Theo-*

logical Studies, vii, no. 26, Jan. 1906: the *Codex Corbeiensis* (ff₂) pp. 254, 265:

(1) MSS *abceff*, (and other Latin and Syriac authorities named) omit 'make me as one of thy hired servants', which certain Greek uncial codices include, in St Luke xv 19.

(2) ff and all Latin MSS (except *k*) . . . have the conclusion to St Mark's Gospel, which is omitted by NB.

Since he has been residing in New York, Mr Buchanan has been closely engaged in examining a *Missale Mixtum*, or Spanish Liturgical MS, in Mr Archer Milton Huntington's collection.¹ It was written, as Mr Buchanan assures me, about A. D. 1180, and the Church lections in it are in Old Latin with Vulgate corrections. He has sent me his transcript of three of the liturgical gospels, which he had just copied out from the MS in its original text, giving me generous permission to 'make any use of them' I please.

I think that the best use that I can make of them is to offer the three passages *in extenso* for students to examine.

I

St Mark xvi 14-20

14. Lugentibus discipulis apparuit illis dominus ihesus: et exprobrauit incredulitatem illorum et duriciam cordis: quia his qui uiderant illum resurrexisse a mortuis non crediderunt.

15. Et dixit dominus ihesus discipulis suis. Ite per spiritum sanctum in mundum uniuersum.

16. Qui crediderit euangelio per spiritum sanctum saluabitur.

17. Signa autem credentes hec sequentur. In nomine meo demonia eicient. Linguis loquentur nobis: [= nous:]

18. Serpentes tollent. Et si mortiferum quid biberint: non illos nocebit. Super langentes spiritus horantes bene se habebunt.

19. Et dominus ihesus post quam per spiritum sanctum predicatus est discipulis suis euangelium glorie filiorum dei: sedit a dextris sui patris.

20. Illi autem profecti predicauerunt per spiritum sanctum euangelium: domino ihesu christo quooperantem cum euangelio: et sermonem confirmantem [= cooperante . . . confirmante] sequentibus signis.

II

St Luke xv 11-24

11. Dixit ihesus discipulis suis. Homo quidem habuit duos filios:

12. Et dixit adolescencior ex illis patri. Pater da michi porcionem substantie que me contingit. Et diuisit illis substantiam.

¹ Mr Huntington is founder of 'the Hispanic Society', New York.

13. Et non post multos dies congregatis omnibus: adolescencior filius peregre profectus est in regionem longinca[m]: et ibi dissipabat substantiam patris sui uiuendo luxuriose.

14. Et facta est fames in regione illa: et esuriebat et egebat.

15. Et habiit et proiecit se ante pedes hominis regionis illius: et misit illum in uillam suam ut pasceret porcos.

16. Et cupiebat saturari uentrem suum de siliquis quas porci manducabant: Et nemo illi dabat.

17. In se autem reuersus dixit. Quanti mercennarii in domo patris mei habundant panibus: ego autem hic fame pereo.

18. Redibo ad gaudium quod spiritus est et ad patrem spirituum: et dicam ei. Pater peccavi in celum et coram hominibus.

19. Et iam non sum dignus uocari filius tuus: fac me sicut unum de mercennariis tuis.

20. Et surgens uenit ad patrem suum. Cum autem adhuc longe esset: uidit illum pater ipsius et ad filium suum accurrens: cecidit super collum eius et fleuit et osculatus est eum.

21. Dixit ei filius eius. Domine peccaui in celum et coram hominibus: non fui dignus fieri seruus tuus.

22. Dixit autem pater ad seruos suos. Cito proferte filio meo stolam illam primam et induite illum: et date anulum in manu eius et calceamenta in pedibus eius.

23. Et adducite uitulum illum saginatum: et occidite: et manducemus et epulemur:

24. Quia hic filius meus mortuus fuerat: et spiritus sanctus illius spiritum fecit reuiuere. [Absunt reliqua uerba huius uersus.]

III

St John xv 1-10 and 11-27

1. Ego sum spirituum uinea: et spiritus sanctus saluator spirituum.

2. Omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum: tollit pater spirituum: et omnem spiritum qui fert fructum sanctificabit: ut fructum spiritus sancti afferat.

3. Iam spiritus sancti discipuli estis: propter sermonem quem locutus est spiritus sanctus uobis.

4. Manete in me per spiritum sanctum. Sicut palmes non potest ferre fructum a semetipso: nisi manet in uinea: sic nec uos nisi in me manseritis.

5. Ego sum uinea: et spiritus sanctus saluator spirituum. Manete in spiritu sancto et spiritus sanctus in uobis.

6. Qui in spiritu sancto non menderit¹: nichil potest facere.

¹ *menterit*: apparently for *manserit*.

7. Si manseritis in spiritu sancto : petite et quodcumque petistis fiet uobis.

9. In hoc clarificaturi estis patrem celestem uestrum : si spiritum sanctum glorificaberitis. In hoc gloriam spiritus sancti in uobis manifestaturi estis et gloriam patris et gloriam filii dei : si spiritus sancti discipuli manseritis.

9. Sicut diligo spiritum sanctum : pater diligit spiritum sanctum.

10. Si spirituum saluatoris precepta seruaberitis : manebitis in dilectione patris : sicut ego seruabi precepta spiritus sancti : et in dilectione patris et spiritus sancti maneo.

11. Hec locutus sum uobis : ut gaudium spirituum discipulorum spiritus sancti sit in uobis per spiritum sanctum.

12. Hoc est preceptum meum : ut diligatis inuicem per spiritum sanctum sicut ego diligo uos.

13. Maiorem hac spirituum hominum dilectionem meam nemo habet : ut animam suam effunderet quis pro spiritibus amicorum suorum.

14. Vos amici mei estis : si feceritis que spiritus sanctus precipit uobis.

15. Iam non dicam uos seruos : quia seruus nescit quid faciat magister eius. Vos autem dicam amicos : quibus uerbum quod audiui a salatore spirituum euangelizabi.

16. Non me dilexistis : sed pater dilexit uos et posuit uos : ut fructum spiritus sancti afferatis pro gloria sua.

17. Quodcumque per spiritum sanctum pecieritis patrem spirituum : dabit pater uobis pro gloriam suam et gloriam spiritus sancti et gloriam filii dei.

18. Si spiritibus malignis hodio estis : scitis quia me priorem hodie-runt.

19. Si ego fuisset spiritus malignus : spiritus maligni me diligerent. Quia ego diligo uos : propterea hodie-runt uos spiritus maligni.

20. Mementote sermones¹ mei : quem ego dixi uobis : non est seruus maior magistro suo. Si me persecuti sunt : et uos persequentur. Si sermonem spiritus sancti hodie-runt : sermonem uestrum hodie-runt.

21. Sed spiritus sanctus habitabit in uobis : et spiritus maligni non uobis nocebunt.

22. Si non uenissem et locutus : non fuisset mundo peccatum : sed nunc non est excusatio peccati sui.

23. Qui sermonem spiritus sancti hodie-runt : et patris sermonem et filii dei sermonem hodie-runt.

24. Si opera non fecissem in mundo que nemo alius fecit : non haberent peccatum : sed nunc uiderunt et hodie-runt filium dei et patrem suum :

¹ sermones : sic, for sermonis.

25. Ut sermo inpleatur ysaye prophete: quia hodie runt spiritum sanctum gratis.

26. Cum autem uenerit spiritus sanctus saluator spirituum: quem ego et pater diligimus: ille testimonium peribebit spiritibus hominum de me:

27. Et sui discipuli testimonium perhibebunt: qui sermonem spiritus sancti seruauerunt.

Mr Buchanan has not specified the occasions for which the three Gospel-passages are assigned, but after looking in Migne's *Patrologia Lat.* lxxxv, and consulting the Rev. W. C. Bishop, I suppose they may be thus appointed, as portions at least are in the Mozarabic use:—

(1) St Mark xvi 14–20, FERIA II PASCHAE (cf. *Lib. Com.* in Dom. post Ascens.).

(2) St Luke xv 11–24, DOMINICA VII POST EPIPHANIAM (*Lib. Com.* in Dom. Cottidiana xv).

(3) St John xv 1–27, SS PETRI ET PAULI; VOTIVA PRO SEIPSO¹ (cf. *Lib. Com.* in Dom. iii post Oct. Pasche; Hebd. ii Trad. Symboli, feriis iv et v; Die Pentecostes).

It will be seen at once that the Latin text here exhibited reports the sayings of our Saviour in a form widely different from that delivered to us in the Gospels which we have received. This Old Latin text, of which large fragments are being recovered by Mr Buchanan, and which he believes to be (virtually) the primitive text presented to early Christians in Spain, differs, it will be observed, nearly as much—and usually in the same particulars—from the Greek Testament as from the Latin Vulgate, and likewise, so far as I can examine it, from the Old Latin transmitted through the Corbey MS ff. 2 of cir. 400 (or 500, Wordsw. and White), which, as Mr Buchanan (in 1904) has assured us, is representative of 'the Latin Gospels in the second century', and is to be identified with 'the Version current in Proconsular Africa and Western Europe, fifty years after the death of St John the Evangelist'. How far other extant MSS of Mozarabic or other Spanish liturgies afford evidence of independent text in their Gospel and other Biblical Lections, is a question which, so far as I know, may still await some investigation. (I have not Dom Férotin's works at hand.) That texts were revised under conciliar authority in Spain is a thing generally known, and that the process of revision in accordance with the normal version of St Jerome was still being carried out in the ninth and down

¹ *Missa pro seipso*. Sarum Missal (ed. Legg) p. 399 n. 4. Mr. Edmund Bishop suggested in 1907 that such masses belong to a 'late phase of Mozarabic Liturgy'. *J. T. S.* viii 282 n. 2.

to the early thirteenth century, Mr Buchanan has shown. There may be truth in his *dictum* (1904) 'In the first centuries of the Christian era, men did not attach the same importance to the letter of Holy Writ as they did later. To the early Christians the message was all in all'. He is more or less sanguine in his hope to recover from various MSS sources something approaching a complete Old Latin text of the New Testament (if not the whole of the Sacred Scriptures) such as he believes to have been current, *c.* 122-180, in Britain, Gaul, and Spain. To one, like myself, brought up and accustomed to recognize the Church as a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, and in either of our current English versions interpreted by the Creeds and Liturgy, as we have them in the providence of God, to find a sufficient presentment of the Divine Gospel message, the impression left by a perusal of the three Gospel lections from the Codex Huntingtonianus, probably suggests such a question as the following: 'Can this text be the production of a Christian orthodox teacher, familiar himself with some Old Latin text in character approximate to the Corbey MS ff₂ (but in a complete condition), only in his zeal to deliver the message in a form suited, as he believed, to witness for the Catholic faith against the tide of threatening heresy, he freely *targums* it, regardless of the letter?' A Christian teacher may have been strongly moved to witness for the truth which the Church had been gradually led to realize, as St Gregory of Nazianzus recognized. In the course of an article in *Dict. Christian Biogr.* ('Holy Ghost') iii pp. 129, 130, Dr Swete has told us how 'the peace of the Church in Spain' was disturbed by the waves of Priscillianism 'from the end of the fourth century to the end of the sixth'. Arianism, Macedonianism, and Eunomianism were enemies of the Faith until the submission of K. Reccared at Toledo in 589. Mr Buchanan, when editing the Old Latin text of Irish MSS, 'noticed in several passages an absence from the Vulgate of the mention of the Holy Spirit where it occurs in the Irish text' (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct. 1915, p. 539). Such mention is abundantly evident in the Spanish text now put before us from the Huntington *Missale Mixtum*. The conclusion of St Mark has the words *per spiritum sanctum* thrice in seven verses, the parable of the Gospel of the True Vine names the Holy Spirit twenty-nine times in twenty-seven verses, and other spirits (human and malign) frequently, while the Paraclete is styled *salvator spirituum* in verses 1, 5, 10, 15, and 26; *pater spirituum* occurs in verses 2, 17: also the Spirit's fruit, word (*sermo*), and glory: the glory of Father, Holy Spirit, and Son of God, in verse 17: the love of the Son and of the Father for the Holy Spirit (in verse 27), as well as the hatred of the world (or of malign spirits) for the word of the Holy Spirit, of the Father, and of the Son of God (verse 23), and for the Son of God, His Father,

and the Holy Spirit (verses 24, 25). Is such phraseology traceable in ecclesiastical writers in Spain or in other countries, and (if so) at what period?

I offer a few miscellaneous remarks on the three passages :—

(I) St Mark xvi.

ver. 14. 'Lugentibus', an introductory word to the lection, borrowed from ver. 10, above. *P. Lat.* lxxxv 488 begins further back in the chapter, and in ver. 14 has 'recumbentibus illis undecim'.

16. The words 'et baptizatus fuerit' do not occur in this text. Holy Baptism, however, would be a prominent thought in the minds of those in Spain who heard this lection read at either season appointed.

18. The prayer of faith (cf. St James v 14, 15) over the sick, *Iang(u)entes*, mentioned without specifying the more visible sign of imposition of hands or unction.

19. The gospel of the glory of the sons of God; St John xvii 10; 1 Tim. i 11; Rom. viii 21, 30; Heb. ii 10.

20. Cf. Acts xxvi 22; St Matt. xxviii 20.

(II) St Luke xv.

ver. 13. 'patris sui', where Vulg. has 'suam'.

14, 15. 'esuriebat', 'proiecit se ante pedes', give dramatic touches of a preacher.

18. 'gaudium quod spiritus est'; cf. Acts xiii 52; see Rom. xiv 7; Gal. v 22; Acts viii 8. 'Patrem spirituum', Heb. xii 9; cf. Num. xvi 22. 'Coram hominibus': so again in ver. 21.

20. Cf. extract (c), above. So far as I have seen specimens from the two Spanish MSS, viz. the *Beatus*, cod. Morgan (*saec. x exeuntis*) and the *Missale Mixtum*, cod. Huntington (*saec. xii exeuntis*), verse 20 is the only one which, being included in both of them, has afforded me the opportunity of comparing the two, with a view to testing whether they agree together textually or not. I find that they agree in reading here 'et fleuit'. This touch is specially noticeable as it is not found in any of the MSS collated by Wordsworth and White, the nearest approach being 'et misertus est' in *d*, or 'et contristatus est' in *e*, in the earlier clause (before '(et) accurrens') where the Greek has simply καὶ ἐπλάγχθη.

22. 'manu . . . pedibus' ('manum . . . pedes' Vulg.); 'manu . . . pedes' *Missale Rom.* 1474 (ed. Lippe, i 83) and 1541. Cf. Wordsworth and White's Vulg. collations. Migne *P. L.* lxxxv 275 has 'manu . . . pedibus'. 'Stolam illam primam . . . uitulum illum saginatum': Are these, again, dramatic touches, or the Spanish representation of the Greek article?

24. 'mortuus fuerat.' *P. Lat.* lxxxv also has this, as likewise *cor. uat. mg. a be ff.*; where *Vulg.* reads 'mortuus erat'.

(III) St John xv.

verses 1, 5. 'uinea' = 'uitis.' So in *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, and in *Phaedrus* iv 3, 1. Wordsworth and White find a few instances in verses 4-5, in MSS (*a*), *r* (*δ*).

2. 'tollit . . . sanctificabit', in place of (*Vulg.*) 'tollet . . . purgabit.' Here, as in other places usually, the printed Mozarabic text is in accordance with *Vulg.*

3. 'Iam spiritus sancti discipuli estis.' Cf. extract (*a*) from *Beatus*, citing St Matt. xvi 8, and, apparently, speaking of 'discipuli eius' with reference to the Third Person of the Ever Blessed Trinity.

verses 17, 23, 26. Here (as in other verses of this lection) the Three Persons of the Ever Blessed Trinity are mentioned together, as in many passages of the *Textus Receptus* of Holy Scripture. Cf. citations (*δ*), (*d*) from *Beatus*, given above.

25. I am unable to account for this attribution to Isaiah the prophet of a phrase (*sermo*), which in our Bible is said to be '*in lege eorum scriptus*', and is usually referred to the Psalms xxxv 19; lxix 4. Possibly there may be some thought of Isa. i 4, or v 24.

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

ON SOME WALDENSIAN MSS PRESERVED IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

THE literature of the Vaudois or Waldenses¹ has been transmitted to us in some twenty-four MSS², preserved at Cambridge, Carpentras, Dijon, Dublin, Geneva, Grenoble, and Zürich. The collection at Trinity College, Dublin, is the largest and by no means the least interesting. It comprises nine volumes. Of these, seven were carefully described by Todd.³ An eighth was unearthed by Abbott,⁴ who published a very brief account of it in the course of which he expressed surprise that Todd should have passed it over. All these MSS date apparently from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

It has been my good fortune to bring to light a ninth, and curiously enough much the most ancient of all the Dublin collection, for it can be with certainty dated between the years 1376 and 1400. I shall commence with a detailed description of this MS.

I. MS A. 6. 10. In Abbott's *Catalogue*⁵ this MS bears the number 269, and is thus described: '1. Tractatus contra Peccata varia. 2. Expositio Orat. Dominicæ (Hispanice).' It is not easy to see how Abbott could have fallen into the error of describing this MS as *Spanish*.⁶ It is a small parchment volume consisting of 80 unnumbered folios measuring 13 by 9 centimetres, written in single columns with 14 lines to the page. There are a number of large red ornamental capitals, sometimes adorned with patches of yellow, and in two cases (ff. 3 a, 78 a) inlaid with gold. Some Latin headings in red in the second treatise. A few faint notes in the margins in a modern hand. The writing is beautifully clear and regular. It is well known that the

¹ For general accounts see Herzog *Die romanischen Waldenser*, Halle, 1853; Montet *Histoire littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont*, Paris, 1885; and the excellent article by H. Böhmer entitled 'Waldenser' in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie* (Bd. xx, 3^e Aufl., 1908, pp. 799-840).

² I am, of course, referring here solely to MSS written in the Vaudois dialect, a dialect of Provençal which has been specially studied by Grützacher in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, xvi, 1854, pp. 369-407; *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, iv, 1862, pp. 372-402, and by Barth *Romanische Forschungen*, vii, 1893, pp. 293-330.

³ *The Books of the Vaudois*, London, 1865, pp. 1-68.

⁴ *Hermathena* viii, 1892, pp. 204-206.

⁵ *Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, 1900, p. 40.

⁶ On this point see Todd *Books*, p. 213 note.

Vaudois MSS are extremely difficult to date,¹ so that it is fortunate for us that on the last folios of our MS the scribe has drawn up a Paschal Table, which commences with the year 1376 and continues to 1400. The volume was thus certainly written before 1400, and may with every probability be assigned to the year 1376. It is thus one of the most ancient of the Waldensian MSS at present known to exist.² The hand is not unlike that of the Cambridge MS B.³ Abbreviations are not common. I have noted the following:—

ā = *an*; aī = *aico*; batī = *batismo*; .C. = *Car*; ɔ = *com*; Zc = *et cetera*; enaī = *enaīsi*; f. = *filh*; .M. = *Mas*; meŷ = *meyre*; mis = *mensis*; mō = *modo*; nrē = *nostre*; P̄ = *Paul*; p = *per*; p̄p̄ = *propheta*; q̄ or q3 = *que*; q̄ = *qui*; ~ above a vowel = *r*, thus segnō = *segnor*; S̄ or s. = *Sant*; sc̄t = *sanct*; t̄ = *tur*; X̄ = *Christ*; Yerē = *Yeremia*; Ȳ = *Yesu*. One notes some inconsistencies, thus *langel* and *l'apostol*, *l'archa*, *d'aquest*, *ço* and *aico*.

f. 1 a: Blank.

f. 1 b: Some signatures in a seventeenth-century hand, illegible.

f. 2 a: More scribbles and the old press-marks A. 68; FFF. 5; A. 1. 36; A. 46.

f. 2 b: Blank.

ff. 3 a–25 a: Without title. An exposition of the doctrines of the Waldensian Church in eleven chapters: Al nom del paire e del filh e del sant sperit nos volem recontar alcun testimoni de las sanctas escrituras per donar entendre e conoiser la gleisa de dio. La cal gleisa non es de peiras ni de fusta ni de nenguna cosa feita de man. Car scrit es al fait dels apostols⁴ que lo aecessime non ista en cosa feita de man. Mas aquesta sancta gleisa es aiostament [3 b] de fidels e de sant homes en la cal Yesu Christ ista e istara entro a la fin del segle. . . . [13 a] Mas contra aquestas cosas la gleisa malignant romana di e aferma que hom deo iurar e di que dio iure e langel. Mas per tot ço si ille ben iureron non deuem nos iurar. Car a dio ni a langel non era dona ley ni comandament de non iurar. . . . [13 b] Aico es manifest que per la gleisa malignant son fait plus de cent milia esperiurament. . . . [17 a] Aquesta gleisa sofre las persegacions e tribulacions e martiris per lo nom de Christ. . . . [18 a] Nota en cal manera totas aquestas parolas de Christ son contrarias a la gleisa maligna⁵ romana. Car ela non es

¹ Cf. Berger in *Romania* xviii, 1889, p. 377.

² The most ancient appears to be the Vaudois Bible at Carpentras, which is assigned by Berger (*loc. cit.*, pp. 378, 416) to the fourteenth century.

³ A facsimile of B may be seen in the frontispiece of Montet's edition of *Le Noble Lefon* (Paris, 1888). The writing of our MS is larger and more regular. It resembles none of the specimens given by Gilly *Romaunt Version of the Gospel of St John*, London, 1848.

⁴ Acts xvii 24.

⁵ *Sic* cod.

persegua per ben ni per iusticia que ela haya en si. Mas per contrari ela persegh e aoci tot hom que no¹ uol consentir a li sio peccat e a las soas faituras. Ela non fugis de cita en cita ; mas segnoriza las citas e los borcs e las prouincias e se sey en grandeca en la ponpa d'aquest mont e es temuda dels reys e dels emperadors e dels aotres barons. . . . [18 b] Mas contra de ço li pastor de la gleisa romana non se uergognan de dire que ille son las fedas e li agnel de Christ e dizon que la gleisa de Christ que es perseguda de lor son li lop. . . . [25 a, it ends] Donc tot hom que non es batiza d'aquest batism non es salf. Aico tuit aquille que eran de fora l'archa foron negat al diluuy. Car el di² de senblant forma uos fay salf lo batism et cetera.

Suficiat modo de batismo.

f. 25 b : Some scribbles in a seventeenth-century (?) hand.

ff. 26 a-77 a : A lengthy exposition of the *Pater Noster*. The first folio—between 25 and 26—has been torn out, leaving only a fragment of a large red initial. . . . Aisi com el mostra per Yermia propheta dizen,³ veuos yo los amenarei de la terra de aquilon e los aiostarei de las derrieranas de la terra ; en plor uenran e en preyerar los remenaray. E⁴ derreco cant li LXX an comenceran esser complit dis yo uisitarei e suscitarei sobre uos la mia bona parola que yo uos remene en aqst⁵ loc, e⁶ apelares mi e andares e orares e yo uos eisaodirei ; uos querres mi e trobares e yo remenarei la uostra caituetat, [26 b] e uos aiostarai de totas las genz e de tot los locs als cals yo uos descatei ço dis lo segnor. . . . [77 a, it ends] Aico l'apostol dis als hebr.,⁷ e que el desliores aqueles li cal per la temor de la mort eran encolpat per tota lor uita a la seruitut. Gracia sia ab tuit li fidel que son en Yesu Christ. Amen.

f. 77 b : A few modern scribbles.

ff. 78 a-79 a : Sancta gleisa seruís a dio ab temor aisi com dis Sant Paul apostol,⁸ ab temor e ab tremolament obras la uostra salu. E per ço sancta gleisa cre als ditz de Daudid propheta. Car el dis,⁹ serues a dio en temor. . . . [79 a, it ends] Aico dis Sant Paul,¹⁰ ara nos sem desligat de la ley de peccat e de mort en la cal nos eram destengu et cetera. Enaisi dio nos ha afranqui per Yesu Christ nostre segnor.

ff. 79 b-80 a : A Paschal Table¹¹ written entirely in red in the same hand as the rest of the volume : Sequitur mensis pascalís. Mcccclxxvi die xiiii Aprilis. Mcccclxxvii die xxix Marcii . . . Mcccc die xxvii Marcii.

¹ Sic cod.

² 1 Pet. iii 21.

³ Jerem. xxxi 8, 9.

⁴ Ibid. xxix 10.

⁵ Sic cod.

⁶ Jerem. xxix 12, 13, 14.

⁷ Heb. ii 15.

⁸ Phil. ii 12.

⁹ Ps. ii 11.

¹⁰ Rom. vii 6, viii 2.

¹¹ The figures do not always agree with those given in the Table in Nicolas *Chronology of History*, 1833, p. 61.

f. 80 b: Blank.

As far as I am aware the tracts contained in this volume do not occur in any of the Waldensian MSS hitherto described.¹

II. MS A. 6. 2 (No. 267 in the printed *Catalogue*). This MS was very briefly described by Abbott.² It is a small paper volume measuring 14 by 10 cm., written in single columns with from 26 to 33 lines to the page. There are 422 folios. An old hand has numbered ff. 8-421 as 1-409. This numeration being inaccurate³ has not been here followed. Titles and initials are in red. The volume was written, apparently by several scribes, about the year 1520. There are some marginal notes in what looks like a seventeenth-century hand. This MS was once in the possession of Jean-Paul Perrin,⁴ who published three of the tracts contained in it.⁵

f. 1 a: Blank.

ff. 1 b-7 b: A Calendar, the January page of which was transferred⁶ from MS C. 5. 22 in 1897 (note on commencing fly-leaf). On f. 7 b is a Table to find Easter with the Sunday Letters for the Cycle of 28 years. Opposite the letters *g. a.* for Leap Year is a date in red ink which has been tampered with. It was originally 1520 (which agrees with the Sunday Letters), but has been altered into 1120. Whether Perrin was the author of this deception or not it is impossible to say.

ff. 8 a-31 a: *Pecca. Lo es de saber che cosa sia pecca. . .* A treatise on the seven deadly sins⁷ with their respective remedies, i.e. Superbia, Enuidia, Ira, Acidia, Auaricia, Golicia, Luxuria.

ff. 31 b-49 a: *Pecca de lenga.*⁸ *Motas cosas son las cals deorian more l'ome. . .*

f. 49 a-49 b: *De la tauerna.*⁹ *La tauerna es fontana de pecca e scola del diauol. . .*

¹ I have not succeeded in tracing the provenance of this MS. It cannot be identified with any of the volumes in Perrin's possession (*Histoire des Vaudois*, Geneva, 1618, pp. 57-59). All the other Vaudois volumes at Dublin figure in Perrin's list (cf. Berger, *Romania* xviii p. 390).

² *Hermathena* viii, 1892, pp. 204-206.

³ Thus f. 343 is marked 338.

⁴ He mentions it in these terms in his list: 'un livre intitulé Antechrist avec plusieurs Sermons et un traité contre les pechés et des remèdes' (*Hist. des Vaudois*, p. 57).

⁵ In a somewhat inaccurate manner.

⁶ Todd (*Books* p. 22) in his description of C. 5. 22 had noticed that 'the first leaf, the inside page of which contains the month of January, is a duplicate, and appears to have belonged to some other MS.'

⁷ There is another copy in MS C. 5. 22, ff. 118 a-139 b (Todd *Books* p. 26).

⁸ Another copy in C. 5. 22, ff. 94 b-118 a (Todd, p. 26).

⁹ Other copies in C. 5. 22, f. 297 b, and C. 5. 26, f. 68 b (Todd, pp. 39, 60). It has been printed by Perrin *Histoire des Chrestiens Albigeois*, Geneva, 1618, pp. 238-240.

ff. 49 b-53 b: Del bal.¹ Lo bal es la prosession del diauol. . . .

ff. 53 b-54 b: A Sermon: Alcun non po servir a duy segnor. . . .
(Cf. Matt. vi 24.)

f. 55: Blank.

ff. 56 a-350 a: A series of sermons on the Epistles and Gospels for the whole year: O frayres sabent aquest temp. . . . (C. 5. 22, f. 385 b, Todd, p. 41.)

ff. 350 b-357 b: Blank.

ff. 358 a-377 b: Vergeñas. Quon lo nostre segnor Yesu Christ era al mont cum li seo deciple. . . .

ff. 377 b-389 b: Qual cosa sia Antichrist.² Antichrist es falseta de dapnacion eterna cuberta de specia de la uerita e de la iusticia de Christ. . . .

ff. 390 a-396 a: Sermon de la fena caninea laqual uenc a Yesu. . . .

ff. 396 a-403 a: Beneuranzas. Mas Yhesu³ vesent las compaignias monte al mont. . . .

ff. 403 b-404 b: No title: Adonca li iust ystaren en grant fortalecza encontra a quilh li qual angusti eron lor e a quilh li cal. . . .
(Wisd. v 1)

f. 405 a: Blank.

f. 405 b: Scribbles in a seventeenth-century (?) hand.

ff. 406 a-421 b: Sermon de usura. Luc.⁴ Vn home era ric et cetera. Aquest home ric sona maiorment. . . .

f. 422: Blank.

III. MS C. 5. 21 (No. 261 of the *Catalogue*). This volume was accurately described by Todd,⁵ since whose time it has been made the subject of much investigation.⁶ It may be assigned to the end of the fifteenth or to the early sixteenth century. The principal contents are the Waldensian Poems⁷ and *Physiologus*.⁸

¹ Printed, with the omission of a few lines, from this copy by Perrin (pp. 240-249). Other copies in C. 5. 22, ff. 292 a-297 b, and C. 5. 26, ff. 65 b-68 b (Todd, pp. 39, 59).

² Printed from this MS by Perrin (pp. 253-295).

³ The MS here has *Yh'u*. Elsewhere it has *Y*, which I have expanded into *Yesu*.

⁴ Lk. xvi 19.

⁵ *Books*, pp. 43-46. Todd's suggestion that it may have been written by the same scribe who wrote MS. C. 5. 22 does not seem probable.

⁶ Montet *Hist. litt.* p. 8; Balma *Les poèmes Vaudois d'après le manuscrit C. 5. 21 de Trinity College, Dublin*, pp. 3-7 (Extrait du *Bulletin d'Histoire Vaudoise*, No. 24, pp. 55 sqq., Torre Pellice, Juin 1906).

⁷ These poems are probably as old as the fourteenth century, cf. Stimming (ap. Gröber *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Bd. ii, Abt. 2, 1897, p. 52).

⁸ Cf. Stimming *loc. cit.* pp. 68-69.

The most celebrated of these poems, *La Nobla Leycon*, was edited by Montet¹ with a collation of this MS, and a facsimile of its script. The collation is carefully done. In verse 479 the MS has *honor* and not *honors* as given by the editor.

The remaining poems, *Novel Confort*, *L'Avangeli de li quatre Semenz*, *La Barca*, *Payre Eternal*, *Lo Despreçi del Mont*, *Novel Sermon*, and the piece entitled *Oraçon*, were published from this MS by Giovanni Balma.² The transcript employed by him was by no means perfect, thus :—

Novel Confort, v. 6 pigricia MS, prigricia Ed.

La Barca, 7 villedza MS, vilecza Ed.; 27 orten superbis MS, or te ensuperbis³ Ed.

Payre Eternal, 5 siencia MS, sciencia Ed.

Novel Sermon, 157 the reading is certainly *sec* and not *ser*.

On ff. 49 a–70 a of this MS occurs the Vaudois *Physiologus*, which has been edited by Alfons Mayer,⁴ who believed this to be the only copy in existence,⁵ but there is another at Cambridge in the volume known as A (MS DD. 15. 29, ff. 17–48), dating from the end of the fifteenth century. As this latter copy had been signalled many years ago by Bradshaw,⁶ and extracts from it printed by Montet,⁷ Mayer's ignorance seems inexcusable. The translation itself is assigned by the editor⁸ to the fourteenth century.

On comparing the printed text with our MS I found that Mayer's transcript was grossly inaccurate.

The following collation of the first fourteen chapters⁹ (Ed. pp. 396–402) will fully demonstrate this :—

396²⁴ la MS, las Ed. (twice);²⁹ di MS, dit Ed.;³⁰ e MS, et Ed.;

¹ *La Noble Leçon*, Paris, 1888, cf. pp. 2, 77–80. See also Appel *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, 3^e Aufl., 1907, p. 156; Emilio Tron *L'epoca della composizione della Nobla Leçon* (*Bull. Hist. Vaud.* 21, 1906, p. 32). The Geneva copy of this poem was edited separately by Apfelstedt (*Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neu. Sprachen u. Lit.* lxii, 1879, pp. 273–288).

² *loc. cit. supra*. There is as yet no critical edition of these poems. The Geneva copy (MS No. 207, middle of cent. 15) has been diplomatically reproduced by Friedrich Apfelstedt (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, iv, 1880, pp. 330–346, 521–541), a scholar whose career was cut short on January 5, 1882, at the early age of 23. He had just published a valuable study of the Lotharingian Psalter (*Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, Bd. iv, Heilbronn, 1881).

³ This is the reading of the Geneva MS (Apfelstedt, *loc. cit.* p. 331).

⁴ *Romanische Forschungen* v, 1890, pp. 392–418.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 394.

⁶ *ap. Todd Books* p. 216.

⁷ *Histoire* pp. 4–5, 220–225; cf. also Berger (*Romania* xviii p. 422).

⁸ *loc. cit.* p. 395.

⁹ Collation of the rest will follow in a future number.

³⁴ conoissan *MS*, conissar *Ed.* ; ³⁵ natura de l'ome es *MS*, natura es *Ed.* ;
³⁷ degnetas *MS*, degnatas *Ed.* ; 397 ⁷ enayma ¹ *MS*, eneyma *Ed.* ;
⁷ psalmista ² *MS*, salmista *Ed.* ; ⁸ gloria *MS*, glesia *Ed.* ; ¹⁰ degnetas *MS*,
degnatas *Ed.* ; ¹⁸ enayma *MS*, eneyma *Ed.* ; ²⁴ daquienant *MS*, dequienant
Ed. ; ³¹ al solelh [ço es a dio e an natura al fuoc] *MS*, *bracketed words*
omitted in Ed. ; ³⁶ Enayma dis *MS*, Enayme di *Ed.* ; ³⁶ emblanqueçi *MS*,
emblanqueci *Ed.* ; 398 ¹ de *MS*, di *Ed.* ; ⁷ reffuda *MS*, reffusa *Ed.* ;
¹⁰ pauçin *MS*, paucin *Ed.* ; ¹⁷ dis *MS*, di *Ed.* ; ²¹ ilh *MS*, il *Ed.* ; ²³ cun la
mayre [enaysi que cun las lors alas fiero li uolh de la mayre] *MS*,
bracketed words omitted in Ed. ; ²³ auci *MS*, aucir *Ed.* ; ³⁰ acer *MS*, aci
Ed. ; ³⁷ cenres [e d'aquela cenre es fait verm] e *MS*, *the words in brackets*
omitted in Ed., *the editor actually stating in a footnote*, 'Hier fehlt, dass
aus der Asche ein Wurm hervorgieng.' 399 ² començan *MS*, comença
Ed. ; ⁹ la *MS*, lo *Ed.* ; ¹⁰ merevilhos *MS*, mervilhos *Ed.* ; ¹¹ en Dio *MS*,
Dio *Ed.* ; ¹⁷ quilh desiran de *MS*, qu'il desira se de *Ed.* ; ²³ cagier *MS*,
cagie *Ed.* ; ²⁹ de quella *MS*, d'aquella *Ed.* ; ³⁰ moiorment *MS*, maiorment
Ed. ; ³⁰ que dormir *MS*, qu'adormir *Ed.* ; ³² diāol ³ *MS*, diabol *Ed.*, *and*
so throughout ; ³⁴ tant maiorment [canta plus fort. E quant lo giorn
s'apropia tant maiorment] s'acoita *MS*, *bracketed words omitted in Ed.* ;
³⁶ devotament *MS*, devotement *Ed.* ; 400 ⁴ dis *MS*, di *Ed.* ; ⁹ nos nurissa
MS, nurissa *Ed.* ; ¹⁰ segot *MS*, segont *Ed.* ; ¹³ per 3 veç *MS*, 3 veç *Ed.* ;
¹⁴ qu'el cante *MS*, qu'il cante *Ed.* ; ¹⁵ que el cante *MS*, qu'il cante *Ed.* ;
¹⁵ quel lauue *MS*, que lauue *Ed.* ; ¹⁷ aurare *MS*, glorificare *Ed.* ; ¹⁷ aurar
MS, glorificar *Ed.* ; ¹⁸ preyerar *MS*, preyras *Ed.* ; ¹⁸ eixaucias *MS*,
eixaucias *Ed.* ; ¹⁹ e enay *MS*, Enaysi *Ed.* ; ¹⁹ denant [quel cante ço es
denant] que l'ome *MS*, *bracketed words omitted in Ed.* ; ²⁴ pauçin *MS*,
paucin *Ed.* ; ²⁵ vootor *MS*, votor *Ed.* ; ²⁶ pauçin *MS*, paucin *Ed.* (*three*
times) ; ²⁹ mas *MS*, ma *Ed.* ; ³⁰ annarey *MS*, anarey *Ed.* ; 401 ² payron
MS, payren *Ed.* ; ¹⁰ conoisson *MS*, connoisson *Ed.* ; ¹³ graveça *MS*,
graveza *Ed.* ; ¹⁵ gloria *MS*, glesia *Ed.* ; ¹⁵ celestia *MS*, celestial *Ed.* ; ¹⁷ *No*
title in MS, Del pic *in Ed.* ; ¹⁸ caua *MS*, caue *Ed.* ; ¹⁹ incz *MS*, inz *Ed.* ;
²¹ oleua *MS*, enleva *Ed.* ; ²³ diāol *MS*, diabol *Ed.* ; ²³ stopare *MS*, stopera
Ed. ; ²³ de annar *MS*, d'annar *Ed.* ; ²⁶ de retornar *MS*, retornar *Ed.* ;
³⁰ ilh *MS*, il *Ed.* ; 402 ⁴ la nostra *MS*, l'umana *Ed.* ; ⁵ compaignun *MS*,
compaignun *Ed.* ; ⁸ čtia *MS*, castia ⁴ *Ed.* ; ⁸ alcun non *MS*, alcun *Ed.* ;
¹¹ De perdiç *MS*, De la perdiç *Ed.* ; ¹⁴ reconoisson *MS*, reconnoisson *Ed.* ;

¹ The *MS* has *enay*⁶, an abbreviation found in all the later Vaudois MSS, and hitherto expanded as *enayma* by all editors. It has been suggested to read it *enaysi coma* (cf. Berger *Romania* xviii p. 358 n.).

² The *MS* has *ps*.

³ This should be expanded *diaul*. At 402²⁴ the *MS* has in full *dionul* where the *Ed.* reads *diavol*. At 401²³ the *MS* has *diaol* and the *Ed.* *diavol*.

⁴ This is probably the correct expansion.

²⁵ l'epervier *MS*, l'espervier *Ed.*; ²⁶ diovol *MS*, diavol *Ed.*; ²⁷ voutor *MS*, voutour *Ed.*

It may be added that in the very last line of the work there are two mistakes, 418 ²⁸ albre *MS*, abre *Ed.*, and septanatz *MS*, sethanas *Ed.*¹

M. ESPOSITO.

THE SOURCES OF SEDULIUS SCOTTUS' *COLLECTANEUM* ON THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL.

IT may be doubted whether the importance of the ninth century either from the literary or from the palaeographical point of view has been sufficiently realized. It is the earliest century from which an abundant supply of Latin manuscripts has survived, and it is the earliest century which can shew any appreciable number of authors' autographs, or copies contemporary with those autographs. As a result it is also the earliest century for which we can reconstruct texts of faultless accuracy. Apart from the desirability of such reconstruction for its own sake, the ninth century was a great age of compilation from earlier sources of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and other centuries, some of which are otherwise lost, and all of which have fresh light thrown on their transmission by such compilations. From a palaeographical point of view, also, surely the right way to start solving the well-known difficulty of distinguishing ninth- and tenth-century writing would be to examine ninth- and tenth-century copies of ninth- and tenth-century works, whose date of composition is known. It would be very useful if some one would give us a series of ninth- and tenth-century facsimiles of this kind: nor would the work take particularly long. These remarks are suggested by such cases as Zmaragdus' *Expositio Libri Comitis*,² whose sources were considered in an earlier number of the *JOURNAL*,³ and also by Sedulius Scottus' *Collectaneum* on the Epistles of St Paul.

Sedulius Scottus, whose period and sphere of activity were the middle of the ninth century and Liège and the Rhine country, compiled, among other works, a set of notes on the Epistles of St Paul. From an old Fulda MS of this compilation, which has since disappeared, Johannes Sichardus printed the first edition at Basle in 1528.⁴ From

¹ A most thorough investigation of the language of the Poems and *Physiologus* was published by A. Barth (*Romanische Forschungen* vii, 1893, pp. 293-330). The author knew nothing of the Cambridge MS of the *Physiologus*, and in view of the inaccuracy of Mayer's edition his work will require careful revision.

² Vol. ix (1907-1908), pp. 584-597.

³ See especially P. Lehmann, *Johannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken-Handschriften* (Munich 1911), pp. 54 ff, 120.

this edition later editions shew little appreciable variation, and nothing has been done to remove the grave defects of all printed editions except what has been accomplished by Prof. Hellmann in his *Sedulius Scottus*.¹ He, following his master Traube, called attention to five surviving manuscripts of the *Collectaneum in epistolas Pauli*,² and classified them. As in his view the Zürich (Rheinau) and Bamberg manuscripts are the most important, I collated all the Pelagian extracts in these in 1913. I also collated Migne's reprint³ with the *editio princeps*. At the same time I copied all the marginal symbols indicating authors used, both in these MSS and also in the two fragmentary manuscripts at Munich.⁴ The materials thus acquired form the basis of the information now given. For the convenience of the printer the horizontal lines over the abbreviations are here omitted. Where two abbreviations are given, the first is that in the Bamberg MS, the second that in the Zürich MS.

PAGE

- 9 C *Prima itaque* ORIG OR
 11 B *Seruus Christi Iesu* AMB AM
 Seruuum autem Christi ORIG OR
 11 D *Ideo utrumque* AMB AM
 Vocatus apostolus PILAG PEL
 12 A *Hoc nomen quod* ORIG OR
 Ἀπόστολος IS
 Apostolus autem AM
 12 B *Aliter: Segregatus* PILAG PEL
 Segregatus dicitur ORIG OR
 12 C *Unum atque idem* ORIG
 Omnia mea AM
 Quod ante AMB
 Consummabo super ORIG
 Dominus inquit OR (eras.)
 12 D *Utrum simpliciter* ORIG OR
 13 A *Hoc ad laudem* AM
 nemo enim rem AMB
 Totus hic locus PILG
 Hoc ad cumulum AM

¹ Munich 1906, pp. 190-194 especially.

² Such is the title at the end of the oldest (Rheinau) MS.

³ P. L. ciii, whose columns and divisions are here referred to.

⁴ The Freising MS (now Clm. 6238) contains portions at least of 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Eph., Col., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Tit.: Hellmann's statement (*op. cit.* p. 191) is inexact. The Oberaltaich MS (now Clm. 9545) contains portions at least of Rom., 1 Cor., some of them apparently in duplicate.

PAGE

- 13 B *Sanctae autem Scripturae* AMB
De filio suo. Multi filii PILAG PEL
Factus est. Non dicit genitus AG AVG
et aliud est non permixtione NTO (in ligature)
- 13 C *Nec intelligunt ideo carnem* AG AVG
- 13 D *Recte quippe Filius Dei* AG AVG
quid enim praedestineretur ECLIPSIS¹
*Destinatur ille qui est*² ORIG OR
- 14 A *Quare non dixit, praepositus* HIER
Inter praedestinationem autem H
Qui praedestinatus est Filius AVG
Tanquam de alio supra AVG EX LIB DE TRIN
- 14 B *Ut prae omnibus* PILG
- 14 C *Sanctificationis uero spiritus* ORIG OR
Ideo non dixit ex AMB AM
Mortuorum Iesu Christi PILAG PEL
Apostolus uero ad AITOTHC
quia et ipse Christus ORIG
- 14 D *Missos ergo apostolos dicit* AMB AM
uerum etiam omnibus gentibus HYPERBATON
Hoc est, uice nominis PILAG PEL
Quia scilicet donum AMB AM
Item, in quibus estis P PEL
- 15 A *Gratiam et pacem cum his* AMB AM
- 15 B *pax uero quia* AITIOLOGIA
Bene gratiam et pacem conecit ISID H
Christum autem Dominum AMB AM
Gratia dicta est ab AVG
Finita praefatione ante omnia AMB AM
- 15 C *Natura deus omnium est* PEL
Prima uox incipit a ORIG OR
non enim potest Deum L
- 16 A *Blandientis affectus est* H
Obseruandum sane est ORIG OR
- 16 B *In spiritu meo, inquit* AM
sed in spiritu meo, id est AMB
Quod sine intermissione mentionem B
- 16 C *Id est, aliqua causa* AMB AM
- 16 D *Videamus autem quod dicit* ORIG OR

¹ Such notes as these, though not indicative of authorities, are given here for the sake of completeness.

² These words are preceded in the Bamberg MS by *Item origenis dicit*.

PAGE

- Haec enim tria esse* ✱
- 17 A *Puto quod etiam hoc* OR
Denique et Balaam iter ORIG
Quid est ut¹ cum scriptis AMB AM
- 17 B *Haec confirmatio tres personas* NOT (in monogram)
Hoc est ut per communem ORIG OR
uidetur indicare esse aliquid N
- 17 C *Est quidem hyperbaton in hoc loco* ORIG OR
- 17 D *quia saepe proposui uenire* ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΠΑΘΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΝΙΚΟΝ
- 18 A *Ideo quia Dominus sciebat* AM
Unde uelut multarum diuitiarum ORIG
Verum hos omnes fructus OR
- 18 B *Exemplo ceterarum gentium* AMB
De Iudaeis autem tacuit PILAG
subauditur, habeo PEŁ
Requirendum est quomodo ORIG OR
- 18 C *Hoc est sicut quidam doctores* AMB
Nulla maior uirtus est PEŁ
Definiens ergo quid sit PILAG
pronuntiat OR
- 18 D *Quod autem dixit quod uirtus* ORIG
quod sit aliqua uirtus dei ✱
Iustitia enim dei reuelatur AM
- 19 A The only place where 'Pil' is named in the printed text. In the Rheinau MS PIŁ was written, IŁ being afterwards erased: in the Bamberg MS the name is written out 'pelagium'. The margins have respectively PEŁ and PILAG
ideo autem ex et NOT (in monogram)
Iustitia dei in euangelio reuelatur ORIG OR
- 19 B *nam alterum sine altero integritatem* INPMASP
uerborum quibus nunc credimus AVG
Quare non homo uel uir H
- 19 C *Sicut in illo qui credit* AMB AM
Auctoritas celsitudinis hoc loco AVG
Ira dei uidetur interdum ORIG OR
- 19 D *Id est Iudaeorum et gentium* N
Impietas in deum peccare ORIG OR
nam ueritatem nominis dei PEŁ
Notitia dei manifesta est AMB AM

¹ Such is the reading of the MSS, not *quod*. The old editors shied at this idiom (*Study of Ambst*, p. 72).

PAGE

- Id est quod cognosci* ORIG OR
- 20 A *Ostendens esse aliquid dei quod notum sit* OR¹
Deus enim illis manifestauit. Id est AMB
Hoc est mysteria obscura AM
Sciendum est quod hic ORIG OR
- 20 B *diuinitas est qua replet uniuersa* PILAG
Pro eo quod tales facti sunt PEŁ
Sed euauerunt in cogitationibus suis ORIG
quasi qui inuenissent quo modo PILAG PEŁ
Quamuis ad omnes homines quibus ORIG OR
- 20 C *Primi enim Babylonii deum* AMB AM N
- 20 D *id est, ut aquila Iouis* ORIG OR
Tradere hoc est permittere AM
Per hoc quod deserunt traduntur OR
- 21 A *Item Augustinus in libro* AVG
Sicut impetus aquae sic cor AVG
- 21 B *Quae est in turpibus mysteriis* PILAG PEŁ
dederunt his qui non sunt di AVG
- 21 C *Id est, non solum dilexerunt* PILAG PEŁ
Aliam dare Satanas AMB AM
Quia effrenata libido PEŁ
- 21 D *Oportuisse non est ueritus* AVG
Non nescierunt sed minime PELAG PEŁ
Tradidit illos deus in sensum PILAG
- 22 A *Deus neminem tradit, sed relinquit* GG
Ioannes Metropolitanus haec dicit IHO IOH
Impudicitia est peccatum publicum .p. PEŁ
Auaritia dicta est quasi ab auro IHO IOH
- 22 B *Contentio est, ubi non ratione aliquid* PILAG PEŁ
- 22 C *Tertio inuenimus ab apostolo positum* ORIG OR
Secundae traditionis causam ꝑ
- 23 B *In his autem tribus uniuersas* ꝑ
- 23 C *Sunt quidam qui se reos* AMB AM
- 24 A *Illud est quod in hoc loco* ✠ (eras.) OR
Sunt enim quaedam quae AM (eras.)
- 24 B *Diuitiae bonitatis dei quibus* ORIG OR
Diuitias bonitatis ille agnoscere ORIG
quanta in terris mala cottidie L²
- 24 C *Sustentatio uero uel longanimitas* TH (in monogram)
Impunitatem sperans peccatorum AMB AM

¹ This is in the Oberaltaich MS (Clm. 9545).² In the Oberaltaich MS.

PAGE

- Cor durum in scripturis dici uidetur* ORIG OR
Huius uerbi in scripturis p
- 24 D *Crassitudo uero cordis est* ORIG OR
- 25 A *Boni operis merces per* PILAG PEŁ
patientiam autem boni operis OR
Decus formae qua sancti PEŁ
- 25 B *In diuinis scripturis aegritudines* ORIG OR
Contentio animae intelligenda L
Id est doctrinae euangelicae OR
- 25 C *Hoc est, idololatriae* ORIG
Hic contraria superioribus PILAG
- 25 D *Sciendum est quod triplex diuisio* ORIG OR
Nam ueri Christiani PH or PN (in monogram)
- 26 A *hic etiam si uitam* ✱ (faint)
- 26 B *Semper Iudaeum anteponit* AMB AM
Graecum quoque subiunxit Be
Ira est non ei qui iudicat AMB AM
- 26 C *Requirendum est utrum de sola* ORIG OR
- 26 D *Hi peribunt et iudicabuntur* PEŁ
- 27 A *Certum est quod gentes* ORIG
- 27 B *Sciendum est autem rationalem* AMB AM
- 27 C *nam participia praesentis temporis* N or H(?)
Duae cogitationes in homine se AMB AM
Rectum iudicium dei quis dubitet ORIG OR
- 28 A *Hinc conuertitur ad Iudaeos* PILAG PEŁ
Notandum est quod non dixit ORIG
- 28 B *Id est, securus es in lege* PILAG PEŁ
- 28 C *Et qui praedicas non furandum* ORIG OR
Moecharis. Non est autem una PEŁ
- 28 D *Tam graue adulterium committis* ORIG OR
et credat, sacrilegium committit PILAG
- 29 A *Sacrilegium est quod proprie* PEŁ
Per istos ergo tales qui ORIG OR
Nomen enim dei per uos blasphematur AMB AM
- 29 B *Sicut scriptum est. Praeposterato* PILAG PEŁ
Sciendum est haec apostolum ORIG
- 29 C *qui dicis non moechandum* L
In Genesi scriptum primo ORIG (with d superposed), OR
- 30 A *Non nos tamen latere debet* ORIG OR
Nec dubitari de hoc potest ORIG OR
- 30 B *Circumcisio est ex genitali membro* ORIG OR
Quid autem esset absurdi OR *Et si necessaria uisa est* ORIG

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- 30 C *quorum diminutio nihil ad* ΔΙΑΕΜΜΑ ·d· d
 30 D *Quod autem octaua die* ORIG OR
 31 A *Omnis filius alienigena* EZE.
 31 B *Iesus filius Naue ex* ORIG OR
 Verum de circumcisione f̄b Bf
 31 C *Obprobria namque Aegypti* ORIG OR
 Circumcisio quidem prodest, si ✕
 32 B *Circumcisio quidem prodest. Potest* AMB AM
 Circumcisionem pro genere posuit f
 32 C *Illud obseruandum est quod* ORIG OR
 Custodit ergo legem is If(?)
 32 D *Si igitur praeputium iustitias* ·f· OR f
 33 A *Continet enim lex iustitias* ORIG
 After et qui in occulto Iudaeus est a passage, not printed, but in
 the Bamberg, Oberaltaich and Rheinau MSS, is labelled
 AMB AM
 Qui per litteram et circumcisionem praeuaricator PELAG PEL
 33 B *de qua scriptum in lege* PELAG PEL
 Item Moyses ait: Circumcidetis AM
 Circumcidere cor, sublata nebula AMB
 Quod autem in tali membro PELAG PEL
 Videtur sermo apostolicus in H
 33 C *nam, et beatus Hieronymus ait* H.
 Est autem dialectica cognomento logica CAS
 Sed dicit aliquis: Nec partes ipsae CAS
 33 D *Quid ergo amplius Iudaeo est?* SEDVL
 34 B *O mirabilis profunditas* ·d·
 34 C *Hic praegustatis, nunc ad singula* ORIG
 In hoc Paulus uelut arbiter quidam OR
 Verbi gratia cum dicit l· Bx
 35 B *Si ergo inquit is qui* ·S·
 35 C *Require tamen quid est quod* OR
 Considerandum est quia non dixit NI (or HI)
 An ex ipsis, qui ex gentibus ORIG (preceded by ·d·) OR
 35 D *Quamquam sunt quae ad honorem* AMB AM
 36 A *Hoc est, fidem promissorum Abrahae* PELAG PEL
 Est enim deus uerax, omnis autem OR
 Quia ergo omnis homo mendax ORIG
 Fiat autem deus uerax VI (in monogram)
 36 B *Quomodo autem dicit Tibi soli peccaui* ORIG OR
 utpote animales homines me qui N
 etiam si erraui, diiudicare ✕

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- 36 C *In Iob huius est exemplum* AM
Deus itaque est uerax AMB
- 36 D *Aliter: Tibi soli peccaui* SEDŁ SED
- 37 A *Hoc testimonium pars aduersa* PELAG PEŁ
- 37 B *Iniustus uidebitur deus* TH (or TN) (in monogram) OR
Ubi mihi hypothetici syllogismi SEDŁ SED
- 37 C *Ut iniquus deus dicatur* OR
Absit autem inquit ut ORIG
cum ipso nomine iudicis K
David enim quando peccauerat AMB AM
- 38 A *si iniquitas a deo non abest* OR
In hoc loco mundum homines ORIG
- 38 B *Ut quid me ita deus iudicat* PELA PEŁ
- 38 C *hoc est unde quaestionem sibi fecit* AMB AM
Hoc autem fortassis ideo dicebant PELAG PEŁ
- 38 D *Ergo reddita ratione quod lex contempta* PELAG PEŁ
- 39 A *Hoc est, certis causis ostendimus* ORIG
Sicut scriptum est quia ·H·
Hi octo uersus neque apud Hebraeos H
- 39 B *sicut omnis paene ad Romanos epistula* ·H· H
- 39 C *Illud etiam necessario ducimus* ORIG OR
diligentius puto inchoari ·L·
- 39 D *Non est qui faciat bonum, non est* S·
Explanari autem potest quod dixit ORIG
- 40 A *Quia non intellegit, non requirit* PELAG PEŁ
Non dicitur declinasse nisi is ORIG OR
- 40 B *uel praeter unum ut accipiat* AVG
Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum S· OR
Patens autem sepulcrum dicuntur ORIG PEŁ
- 40 C *ne adhuc uiuentibus* NĪ (in monogram)
Dolus est cum aliud †
Non est unius generis maledictio p· p
Amaritudo est contraria OR
maledictioni amaritudo coniungitur ORIG
- 40 D *Pedes hoc loco illos intellege* ORIG OR
Illam dicit contritionem †
- 41 A *Et uiam pacis non cognouerunt* p·
non est timor dei ante oculos eorum OR (with p superposed)
In timore dei omnia conclusit p
totam penitus plebem significat AMB AM
ostendit quae in lege dicta sunt p
- 41 B *Illud autem attendendum quia* TN or TH (?) (in monogram)

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- Non solum gentium, sed et* ·p· p
Dum omnes indigent misericordia dei AMB AM
Quia non iustificabitur ex operibus legis p
Opera legis dicit circumcisionem p
- 41 C *Omnem carnem omnem hominem* AMB AM
non otiose accipiendum, quia aliud OR
Non remissio nec ablatio peccatorum ·p· p
- 41 D *Sollicite satis haec legenda sunt* AVG ✠
Itaque quatuor istos gradus ✠
- 42 A *Ioseph in carcerem missus est* AMB AM
- 42 B *Origenes ait de lege* ORIG OR
Iustitia dei est sanctificatio per fidem ·p· p
Sabbati scilicet et circumcisionis AMB AM
- 42 C *Testificati per legem et prophetas* ·p· p
Ideo autem iustitia dei dicta est AMB AM
Aliter In omnes Iudaeos OR
- 42 D *Ad quod dicendum quia* ORIG
Id est, gratia dei, qui non ·p· p
 After alienati ab eo delictis the Rheinau and Bamberg MSS
 have an unprinted portion. The symbols AMB N AM
 occur.
- 43 A *Ad ostensionem iustitiae suae* ORIG
quod cum implevit, iustum se ostendit OR
Propterea passus est Christus ·p· p
Aliter sciens deus propositum AMB AM
- 43 B *Gratiae uidelicet noui testamenti* ORIG OR
Certum est in omnibus paene locis ORIG OR
- 43 D *sancta eius caro, in qua* ✠
Sed et quod latitudo eius z· Z
- 44 B *Quem proposuit deus, etc.* ORIG †
de anima Iesu quam de deitate L
Reddita ratione ad Iudaeos loquitur AMB AM
- 44 C *per quam legem subaudis ἀπὸ κοινού* ORIG OR
tamquam interrogantis sermone dixerat OR †
- 44 D *Sine quibus operibus legis* PELAG PEL
- 45 A *Quo modo iustificatur homo sine operibus legis?* AVG
- 45 B *Fortassis autem haec aliquis audiens* OR
resoluatur et bene agendi neglegentiam ORIG
sed praeteritorum criminum datur (after which words the Bam-
 berg MS has an unprinted portion) L·
Id est Iudaeos credentes per praeputium †
id ipsum est ex fide et per fidem PELAG PEL

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- 45 C *Non mihi uidetur superflua* OR
Et non solum apostolus Paulus ·L·
- 45 D *Sicut enim mulier ex uiro* ✱
- 46 A *Legem ergo destruimus per fidem?* †
Legem ergo quae circumcidi p
Quo modo uero se legem confirmare ORIG OR
Sed non est praetereundum D
quod contraria sibi scribere uidetur p·
cum in praesenti quidem dicit ✱
- 46 C *Illud praetereundum minime uidetur* ORIG OR
Hoc proposuit sibi: nam Abraham AMB
- 46 D *Cum superius duas proposuerat leges* ORIG OR
- 47 A *Abraham autem constat habere gloriam* L
Hic sermo ex Genesi sumitur ORIG OR
- 47 B *Conuertentem impium per solam fidem* p·
Hoc dicit quia sine operibus legis AMB AM
- 47 C *Credere autem non uoluntatis est* q ✱·
Beatitudinem hominis remissionem p
Initium iustificari a deo ORIG OR
ut cum per legem dei excoli IH (?)
- 47 D *Quod remittitur non tenetur* ·p·
Vide si potest iste ordo ORIG OR
- 48 A *Iniquitas sane a peccato* ✱
Id est remissio peccatorum per fidem S
- 48 B *uult istam beatitudinem tribus temporibus* TN (in monogram)
Ab origine incipit ut omnem AM
Et signum accepit circumcisionis p·
- 48 C *Profundam in his Pauli sapientiam* OR
Signum namque dicitur cum L·
- 48 D *signaculum dicitur quod alicui rei* ·L·
- 49 A *Quod ergo signis indicanda* ·L·
- 49 B *idcirco ante Abraham iustificatur* ORIG OR
- 49 C *siue ut cum eo recumbant* p·
Illud etiam sciendum quod sicut ✱· OR
lex naturae de bono et malo ORIG
Ut penitus ostendat non posse AMB AM
- 49 D *poena uero per iram generatur* p·
Hoc est sublatiis reis de potestate AMB AM
- 50 A *Non omnem praeuaricationem generaliter* p·
Firma esse non potest omni homini AMB AM
Hoc est non tantum unius generis AMB OR
- 50 B *qui uiuificat mortuos hic mortuos* p·

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- 50 C *quamuis in principio creandi uocauerat* p.
Contra spem naturae erat ut centum p.
Cum non spem habet generandi Abraham AMB AM
 For *Item secundum alios* the Rheinau MS reads *Item secundum Origenem* and gives OR in the margin.
- 50 D *Nihil naturae considerat fides* p.
Sic solui solet et ista quaestio AVG
Item Ambrosius AMB AM
- 51 A *Quo modo is uidebitur emortui corporis* ORIG OR
Itaque dicamus Abraham ·I·
- 51 B *Et hic est primus fructus spiritus* ·✠·
Nec de senectutis possibilitate (the true reading) p.
- 51 C *nec enim fides habet meritum* ·GG
Tamquam de percepto dono PELAG
Hoc modo competenter uidebitur ORIG OR
- 51 D *quo modo enim alienum nobis* p.
Tunc magis in pacem ORIG OR
- 52 A *Et quia dominus Iesus huius* AMB AM
Hoc est per quem accesserimus prope p.
quo modo accessum habeamus per ·Θ· ·O
Istud ostium ueritas est ·L·
- 52 B *Ideo dixit stantes quia iacuumus prius* (after this word both the Rheinau and the Bamberg MSS have an unprinted part lettered AMB AM)
Gloriamur nos sperare gloriam ·p·
Mouet me cur non dixerit se ·O· O
Non solum in gloriae spe sed etiam ·p·
- 52 C *ut adquiramus de tribulatione finienda* ·✠·
Quamquam ✠
- 52 D *Scientes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur* AMB AM
Tribulatio sanctorum proprie est ORIG OR
- 53 A *Spes futurorum omnem confusionem* p.
Spes non confundit AMB AM
Magnitudo beneficiorum excitat p
- 53 B *Quo modo nos diligat deus* ·p· p
Siue quia in ultimo mundi tempore AMB AM
- 53 C *Forte audeat quis mori pro iusto* f
- 53 D *Si per mortem Christi saluati* ·p·
filium morti tradidit ·d· a (in uncial form)
- 54 A *Id est non solum nobis* p.
Cum supra aperuisset arcana ORIG OR
- 54 B *Hic cum dixerit Sicut per* ·d· ORIG OR

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- et ita in omnes homines pertransiuit* -q.
 54 C *Sed huic Origenis expositioni* SEDL sed
 54 D *nam quem ad modum per unum* ✱
 Where the obelus is, the Rheinau and Bamberg MSS have *Ex*
(De) libro secundo contra Iulianum, with AVG in the margin
 opposite.
 55 A *sicut enim a muliere initium* .L. ✱
 55 B *Manifestum est in Adam omnes* AMB AM
Hoc dictum est, non quia AG. AM
Quasi ante legem peccatum non fuerit p.
 55 C *Putabant se homines apud deum* AMB AM
 55 D *Lex autem naturalis tres partes* ✱
Quoniam non imputabatur peccatum ante quam AMB
 56 A *Aliter: Regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen* GG
Quia nec lex per Moysen potuit AG AVG
regnum mortis auferre ab Adam ORIG OR
 56 B *Aliud est enim pertransire et aliud* TK (?) (in monogram)
 56 C *Infantes sunt qui non peccauerunt* GG
Siue: Ideo fuit forma Christi quia sicut p.
et sicut ex latere Adam p
Cum superius dixisset apostolus ORIG OR
 56 D *quae sit per genus similis* p
Ex his asserit completa esse ORIG OR
 57 A *Si enim ob unius delictum multi mortui sunt* S. AG AVG
 57 B *quia mors quidem unius delicto* D. ORIG OR
 57 C *Ex uno ergo quid nisi delicto?* AVG
 57 D *quo modo ex uno delicto in condemnationem?* AVG
nullus enim hominum nisi per Adam AVG
 58 A *Sicut exemplo inoboedientiae Adae* p.
Subintrauit autem hoc est subito AM
quia inimicus plus exarsit AMB
 58 B *Aliter: Ut abundaret delictum: nam* AG AVG
Lex autem subintrauit, lex scilicet ORIG
Ipsa ergo subintrauit OR
Manifesta est enim quantitas peccati p
Est autem grandis superabundantia ORIG OR
Superabundauit gratia. Donum dei omnium AMB AM
 58 C *Quoniam superius dixerat quia* Ubi ORIG OR
Vult tam firmum esse baptizatum ✱
 58 D *Superueniente gratia dei per Christum* AM
Sicut deo uiuere dicitur is OR
Obserua diligentius ordinem dictorum ORIG OR

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- 59 B *In morte ipsius baptizati sumus. Hoc est* ORIG OR
After Christo conbaptizati sumus there is in the Rheinau and
 Bamberg MSS an unprinted portion. In the margin
 opposite is q.
- 59 C *Si mortui sumus peccato et consepulti* ORIG OR
quo modo etiam cum ipso tres q.
Haec dicit dominus cum dominus non misit FAVTS. FAVS
- 59 D *dum descendimus sepelimur* ✱
Novitas autem uitae est ubi ORIG OR
- 60 A *Baptismum itaque resurrectionis pignus est* AM
Si enim complantati facti sumus ORIG OR
- 60 B *Vel: Si enim complantati* AM
id est si in baptismo AMB
- 60 C *Scientes quia uetus homo noster* OR
Vetus homo noster intellegendus est ORIG
Scilicet deo. Per baptismum cum Christo p.
Ut destruat corpus nostrum a seruitute p.
- 60 D *Corpus est peccati. Id est, iniquitas* ORIG OR
uetus homo noster malos actus cruci fixos AM
- 61 A *Praesenti sermone apostolus conclusionem* ORIG OR
Si autem mortui sumus cum Christo AMB
Unde consequenter intellegitur quod AM
- 61 B *Viueri autem deo ita intellegendum est* ORIG OR
- 61 D *Mortale corpus est ex causa* AMB AM
Id est diabolo: unum quodque membrum p. p
Ut oculus qui ante uidebat ad concupiscendum p.
Non uos uincet peccatum: non enim estis p.
- 62 A *Noli facere uitium sermonis: non enim* p
Si non peccemus non sumus AMB AM
Quia si peccatis sub gratia p
Nunc ne aliud profitentes AMB AM
- 62 B *Videtur parum integra elocutio* ORIG OR
quod fortassis putet L
- 62 C *Unde uereor ne forte plures* ORIG OR
iustitiae uideamur oboedire 3
- 62 D *Ipsa autem doctrina sit* AV (?)
Et ob hoc Hieremias fortassis d.
- 63 A *Liberati autem a peccato* S. f
sic enim dicebat Iesus ad Iudaeos OR
Hoc est humanum dico quia p. p
siue ita humana ratione digna ORIG
Pudorem quendam per haec incutit OR

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- 63 B *Dudum requirebant pedes uestri* S.
circumspiciant pauperes debiles egenos (before these words the
 Bamberg MS has a portion omitted by homoeoteleuton in
 printed edition) ✱.
- 63 C *Videtur hic sane iustitiam nominasse* ORIG OR
Hoc est in nullo seruientes p.
ita et nunc liberi estote ab AM
- 63 D *Quilibet a deo est seruus* AMB
Sane notandum est esse ORIG
Liberi a iustitia non sunt AVG
Quem ergo fructum habuistis in his ✱.
- 64 A *Non est omittendum quod* OR
serui facti sunt deo L.
Finem dixit exitum uitae et actuum AMB AM
Stipendium pro opere militiae redditur AG AVG
- 64 B *Bene autem metaphoram id est figuram* ORIG OR
- 64 C *Hinc incipit difficultatem legis ostendere* p.
ut animas eorum firmet AMB AM
Nam quae sub uiro est mulier AMB P (there is a bit of this in
 Rheinau MS, not printed)
Haec lex de euangelio est AM
- 64 D *Suadet ergo Christianis mundum* Z.
si autem seruientes legi accedere q.
Scientibus autem legem loquitur Paulus ORIG OR
- 65 A *Sed quo modo sit mortuus* L.
- 65 B *Quo modo saluator corpus suum zabulo* AMB AM
cum illum innocentem occidit OR
et qui exiit principatus et ORIG
- 65 C *Ut sitis alterius, qui ex mortuis* PEŁ
Acquiritur enim qui in gratia eius AM
quae tamen per legem ostendebantur esse AMB
- 65 D *Per legem erant, hoc est* AM
Quaenam ista lex est, per quam ORIG OR
Siue ; Ut fructificaret morti, hoc est AMB AM
- 66 A *Lex autem mortis ideo dicta est* L.
Hoc est, nos mortui cum Christo ORIG OR
Lex enim uetus non criminis nomen est AMB
sed temporis uel aetatis AM
- 66 B *Non idcirco nos Christus abstraxit* ORIG OR
- 66 C *Non ergo peccatum est lex, sed index peccati* AMB AM
Non dixit : Non habebam p
Omnem dicens concupiscentiam AM

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- 66 D *Quid est sine lege uixisse* AMB AM
In fine obliuionis recognitum est peccatum p.
- 67 A *Mortuus est homo qui uidet se* AMB AM
Peccatum hoc loco zabulum intellege AMB AM
quod enim prohibet malum, bonum est ORIG OR
- 67 B *Sed ut peccatum appareat peccatum* AMB
Inimicus; hoc est diabolus, quem AM
Ut fiat supra modum peccans P
- 67 C *Non intellegit quod operatur, quia uidet* AMB AM
Si ipsum malum nolo facere P.
- 67 D *quia carnalis consuetudo uoluntati* P.
Semper repetit ut dilucidet AVG AM
- 68 A *Numquid qui inuitum hominem* AMB AM
non illius dominaretur p
Hic elocutiones integrae non uidentur ORIG OR
- 68 B *opus uero tardum est* L.
nec tamen statim ut uoluit sapiens effectus est ✕
- 68 C *Aliam legem desideria consueta dicit* p.
quae in mente consistit ORIG OR
Sed rursum motus corporis p
- 68 D *Cum haec Paulus adsumpta fragiliore persona* ORIG OR
Merito corpus mortis appellatur ORIG OR
hanc dicit mortem, quam ostendit AM
- 69 A *Mente serui legi dei* AM
Id est diaboli, qui per carnem AM
- 69 B *Lex spiritus uitae ipsa est* AMB AM
Ideoque lex reis mors est ✕
Utrumque continet lex et litteram ORIG OR
- 69 C *Hoc dicit ut baptizatos* AM
quia quod impossibile erat legi AMB
Aliter: Impossibile erat legi ut homines p.
Hoc est: In eo quod lex infirmabatur p.
Quod dixit: In similitudinem carnis peccati ORIG OR
- 69 D *Hostiae, quas pro peccato offerebant* PELAG PEL
- 70 A *peccatum peccato proprio condemnauit* AMB AM
Pro peccato inquit damnauit ORIG OR
in carne sua (after these words there is an unprinted part in the
 Bamberg MS) P
- 70 B *Damnatum dicit peccatum* AM
Homo ex spiritu et carne constructus p.
Id est: carnalia bona pro summis AVG
- 70 C *Multi hunc locum ita intellegi* CAS

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- ut hoc ipsum apostolum CAS*
Quid enim boni quod ille ✠
- 71 A *uerum etiam magna atque praeclara sunt ·L·*
et rursum auri contemplatione ✠
- 71 B *Ipse alibi¹ dicit prudentiam humanam esse f·*
Talis ergo prudentia mortem p·
Prudentia uero a prouidendo est appellata AMB AM
- 71 C *Quoniam prudentia carnis inimica AVG*
Ostendit quid dixerit inimica AVG
Legi enim dei non est subiecta P
- 71 D *Id est: uoluntate carnis ·P·*
- 72 A *Totus mundus caro est AMB AM*
sed in spiritu: hoc est ·P·
Hoc ideo ambigue dicitur AMB AM
Qui enim in carne sunt AVG
- 72 B *Id est: Qui uoluptatibus carnis AG*
Spiritus autem Christi humilitatis S·
Spiritum dei nunc spiritum Christi P· AM
Hoc ergo dicitur quia supra dictis amb
- 72 C *Cum in psalmis dicat OR*
Et si ferae et iumenta eius sunt ORIG
Peccati causa corpus mortuum asserit AMB AM
Spiritus uero uiuit propter iustificationem ·P·
- 72 D *Quod si spiritus eius qui OR*
Quoniam quidem supra dixerat ORIG
- 73 A *Unus quisque sic habere in se spiritum ORIG OR*
Christus sapientia est: si sit sapiens P
- 73 B *Quia supra propter peccatum AMB*
corpus dixerat mori morte AM
Non autem ait: Qui suscitauit q· AG AVG
- 73 C *Hoc totum ait (or agit) ut ostendat ·P·*
Spiritum Christi habitare in nobis ORIG OR
- 73 D *Nihil uerius quam si secundum AMB AM*
Omne enim peccatum caro est p·
Si autem per spiritum facta OR
mortificat autem quis hoc modo ORIG
- 74 A *Gaudium similiter fructus est spiritus p*
Hos dicit spiritu dei AMB AM
Iudaei acceperunt spiritum, qui P·
- 74 B *Hoc ergo est quod docet ORIG OR*
Neque enim pater alius quisquam p

¹ alibi comes from the Rheinau MS.

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- ne pro nomine quoque in uacuum usurpato* p.
Abba pater: Hic duo uerba H· H
- 74 C *Cum deus pater nullo* AMB AM
Sed haec causa humanitatis est p
Heres quis efficitur dei ORI OR
- 74 D *sicut apostolus ad Hebraeos dicit* AG AVG
cuius similitudo uetus testamentum erat p
- 75 D *Videamus ergo quid sit compati* AMB AM
Hinc uult futuram gloriam commendare ·p
Nihil quidem dignum inueniri ORIG OR
- 76 A *Non enim condignae sunt passionēs* ∅
Diuersi hunc locum diuersis modis PELAG PEŁ
Reuelationem filiorum dei expectat ORIG OR
- 76 B *Quid est ergo quod uanitati* AMB AM
Vide ipsius solis et lunae ORIG OR
- 76 D *Sicut gaudent angeli super paenitentes* p· OR
- 77 A *Requirendum est cur in superioribus* ORIG
Ipsa igitur elementa cum sollicitudine AMB AM
- 77 B *Non solum angeli, qui benigniores* p·
Hoc ergo quod in eos ORI· OR
- 77 C *Scrutare librum Quaestionum* ·A·
Ergo in spe liberati sumus AM
Quod uidetur non speratur, sed proprium est p·
Nihil est ergo prorsus sperandum ∅ OR
- 77 D *Tunc ergo erit res quae* AVG
Manifestum est non esse spem AMB AM
Ideo fides per patientiam grandis p·
- 78 A *Spes enim sine patientia* AMB
per patientiam expectamus: haec AM
 After adiuuat infirmitatem nostram there is a passage in the
 Rheinau and Bamberg MSS labelled PEŁ ·P·
Quia quae ante petuntur quam ORIG AM
Quae autem sit infirmitas nostra OR
- 78 B *et ignorantem penitus litteras* L·
- 78 C *Infirmitatem nostrae orationis* H
Sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis p·
- 78 D *Ostendit quidem non tam uerba* ORIG OR
Hoc dicit quia si imperite AMB AM
- 79 A *Hos quos praesciuit futuros* AM
Puto quod sicut non de omnibus OR
- 79 B *Fortassis ab attentis lectoribus* ORIG OR
- 79 C *Similis ei erimus, id est deo, sed* AVG

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- 79 D *Recte primogenitus qui ante creaturam* AM
Vocatio autem uolentes colligit p.
Aliud est praescire, aliud praedestinare FAVS
- 80 A *Praescientia itaque gerenda praenoscit* faūs faust
haec praedestinat praemia. At aduersum d. ORIG OR
ergo non omnes praesciuit p.
- 80 B *Vocare est cogitantem de fide* AMB AM
Deus quo modo pro nobis sit ORIG OR
- 80 D *Pro omnibus ergo tradidit eum* ORIG OR
et ideo etiam si minorum L.
Quid potest habere carius quod P.
Multa sunt in scripturis, quae nisi ISIDO IS
- 81 A *Quos ergo deus elegit credentes* P.
Videtur mihi quod ait ORIG OR
- 81 B *Hoc in Isaia propheta est* AMB
qui quidem nos arguet, ne forte AM
Ut cum ipso simus ubi ipse p.
- 81 C *Post tanta praeclara beneficia* p.
hoc est, non propter aliud crimen p.
Tota die: non enim sufficit mihi ORIG OR
- 81 D *Confido enim quod neque mors* ☩
- 82 A *Neque creatura alia. Omnem paene* ☩
Nimirum hyperbolice hoc dicit ORIG OR
- 82 B *Cum pro his, inquit, omnibus beneficiis* ORIG OR
fames si adfuerit, turbare me non potest ✠
- 82 D *Confidentia est enim haec* AM (but Bamberg MS has *Item sc̄s*
am̄d)
Neque si uirtus ab aliquo ✠
- 3 B *Videamus qua re dixerit ueritatem* OR
- 83 C *Sed et hoc, quod dicit* OR
- 84 A *Cerne apostolum, quantae caritatis* H.
ut pro illo cupiat mori H
- 84 B *Optabam, inquit, non opto* ✠ AM
Qui sunt cognati secundum carnem H
Quorum adoptio est filiorum H.
Adoptati enim sunt filii ORIG OR
- 84 C *Adiecit adhuc ut et alios* AMB AM
De gloria datae legis saepe ORIG OR
unum fortasse dicere nonnullis q.
- 84 D *Haec sunt omnia, super quae* AM
- 85 A *Apostolus hanc sententiam profert* H.
quod plangit apostolus dicens H

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- Hic etiam incipit ratiocinare* Item faust
quia superius dixerat dolere p.
Nec enim omnes qui sunt AMB
Hoc est quod uult intellegi AM
- 85 C *Proposuit ergo apostolus persequi* d. OR
 85 D *Non ergo, inquit, per ordinem* S.
 86 A *In Genesi ita legitur haec sententia* GEN
Hic ostendit posteriorem populum p.
hoc est in Genesi, quod praefiguratum AM
in quo promissionis uerbum impletur AMB
- 86 B *Non tantum ergo Sarra* AMB AM (the Bamberg MS has also
Item scdm amd)
- 86 C *Sed alia causa est* p
 86 D *Ex uno concubitu habens Isaac* p.
Praescientia dei flagitatur AM
- 87 A *Nam neminem damnat ante quam peccet* q.
Maiorem populum Iudaeorum AVG
- 87 B *Quid mirum est si iustitia* faust
Sed requirendum quare hoc AVG
Siquis habet duos debitores AVG
ab altero exigere, cui uult donat AVG
Ambo gemini natura filii AVG
- 87 C *Sentiens autem quem ad modum hoc* AVG
Qua in re, si futura opera p
Haec elocutio ita intellegenda est FAVS faust
- 87 D *Ex persona contradicentis sibi* ORIG
Numquid iniquitas est apud deum? OR
- 88 B *Velle et currere meum est* H. H
Non uolentis neque currentis, etc. Cum procul dubio AVG
- 88 D *et misericordia eius subsequetur me* L
Cur enim admonemur orare d.
Oremus pro nobis, ut misericordia AVG
Item non uolentis neque currentis AVG
- 89 A *Si uos filius liberauerit, uere liberi eritis* f.
Qui uult et qui currit, hoc uidetur ORIG
- 89 B *Hoc autem fecit deus more* d.
Ponamus ergo patrem familias istum ORIG OR
- 89 C *Vide enim quod non dixit* L.
et in te ipsum ad posteritatis AVG
famosissimus conferatur interitus. Cum dei pf AVG
- 90 A *quem uult obdurat, nec tamen inique* faust
Vis scire quia diuina FAVTS

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Dei patientia induratus est d. p. (evidently for *dei patientia*)
in ipso suam clementiam f.

Et ut adnuntiaretur nomen meum amb. AM

90 B *Tamquam propterea non uideatur* d.

O homo tu quis es qui AG

Hoc loco quidam stulti putant AVG

90 C *Nec apostolus hoc loco sanctos* S. AVG

91 A *Legimus et in euangelio* ORIG OR (the Bamberg MS also
 precedes the quotation with the words *Item secundum
 origenem*)

91 B *propterea namque et dominus dicebat* OR

91 C *ita etiam Paulum diuinorum* ✠

91 D *et cur qui peccat culpatur?* ✠

cubiculi ausus es secreta L.

92 A *quod hic proprium quasi ponit* AMB AM

Quid sibi uult homo de hac massa AG. AVG

et dicat: Quare sic me fecisti? .R.

De Pharaone facile respondetur AVG

92 B *Quia illum diu sustinuit blasphemantem* .P.

92 C *Saepe de incompositis elocutionibus* ORI. OR

Verbi causa, ut ita legamus p.

92 D *O homo, tu quis es* ∴

Patientia et longanimitas est dei p AMB. AM

93 A *diuitiae autem gloria sunt* AG

Eo ipso quod ait: In multa AVG

cum erga eos, qui inter homines spernuntur ORIG OR
qui spernebatur et desperabatur .∴

Vocabo non plebem meam .∴¹

93 B *Apertum est de gentibus dictum* ORIG AM

Paucitatem eorum credituram AMB

Providens de futuris propheta ORIG OR

93 C *Historiae habet hoc sensus* P.

Saluari hos promittit, quos AM

93 D *Siue uerbum breuiatum est* OR

94 A *Quod semen Isaias Domino dicit* OR

sicut ipse Dominus dicit AMB

aut fructus huius seminis est AM

94 B *Vide ergo si hoc modo* ORIG OR

94 C *Prima iustitia est cognoscere* P.

94 D *Ecce pono in Sion lapidem offensionis* AM

¹ This symbol also occasionally la, le, etc.

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- Compertum est in petra uel in lapide* AMB
hunc dicit, qui abscissus a monte P.
- 95 B *ita ut proferret de Isaia* ORIG OR
- 95 C *Et probat quo modo non* L.
si enim habeat quis affectum P
- 96 A *Sed non secundum scientiam* P.
sed non cognouerunt quia AM
Ignorantes enim hunc esse Christum AM
- 96 B *Quidam ex hoc loco putant* P.
- 96 C *Hoc est, nec de passione neque* ESI
Quod ergo ait: Ne dixeris ORIG OR
- 96 D *Iustitiam hanc dicit esse fidei* AMB AM
Hoc scriptum est in Deuteronomio AM
- 97 A *Quia si confitearis in ore tuo* AM
hic illa manifestauit: hanc AM
Certum est quia suscitauit eum ORIG OR
alioqui quid proderit scire ORI
- 97 B *Ad hunc autem sensum* P.
Ergo si fides sufficit ad P.
Cum examen coeperit fieri AMB
- 97 C *ubi et remuneratio et condemnatio* AMB
Generaliter autem confundi propter AM
- 97 D *Hae sunt diuitiae domini, si* ORIG OR
- 98 B *Difficultas mihi quaedam in* d.
Sed magis ad illum nos L
- 98 C *Hoc propheta dicit Nahum* AM
- 98 D *de his pedibus et in euangelio* d.
- 99 B *Ergo si nec illi omnes* f.
Quis credidit auditui nostro? Firmauit P.
Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro? ORIG OR
- 99 C *qui ascendit in caelum Christum deducere* O
- 99 D *Quia nisi dicatur aliquid* AM
nec audiri potest nec credi AMB
ubi ait: Non sunt loquellae ORIG OR
- 100 A *Sed dico: Numquid* S
Videtur ea quae superius dixit P OR
nunc uero, ut sibi moris est ORIG
Quia per se Iudaei in ira AM
In gentem insipientem AMB
- 100 B *Hoc est, sine lege et non adorantem* P.
Dicit apostolus de Isaia OR
hoc indicat quia mortem ORIG

00 A ME H SPEDITIONE. CANTINE DE I
 00 C DE MONTANA. PONTANA. DE
 00 D MONTANA. PONTANA. CANTINE DE I
 01 A CANTINE DE MONTANA. PONTANA. DE
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- 105 D *Ideo insertum dicit oleastrum ut* AM
Sed nec hoc quidem lateat nos ORIG OR
- 106 A *Adhuc ad eos qui ex gentibus* ORIG OR
- 106 B *Hoc est, ne secundum humanam sapientiam* † P.
Quia insultare lapsis OR
Quod enim secundum deum sapit ORIG
Id est, non omnibus patitur deus P.
- 106 C *Donec plenitudo gentium intraret* IS
Id est, multitudo credentium ISID
Quod si uis, inquit apostolus ORIG OR
Sciendum sane est quod de propheta d.
- 106 D *Nouum scilicet testamentum* p
Causa incredulitatis inimici sunt euangelio AM
- 107 A *illis enim insultandum est quorum* OR
Eadem persequens adhuc de Israel ORI.
Secundum reliquias uero, quae R
- 107 B *Post haec etiam latentes et profundiores* S.
- 107 C *Si crediderint, illis non poterunt* P.
Hoc est, omnia conclusisse in incredulitate AM
- 107 D *Miratus tantum profundum nullis* ISID. ES
Excelsum et immensum deum in diuitiis AM
- 108 A *Considerans sanctus apostolus tantas esse d.* ORIG OR
- 108 B *quam inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius* † iudicia P.
Inscrutabilia. Ut scrutari OR
Sed requirendum quare dicat inscrutabilia ORIG
- 108 C *Quis enim cognouit sensum domini?* hoc d. AMB AM
- 108 D *Hoc est, quasi minus ipse consilio* S.
indigeret alterius, sed consilii OR
- 109 A *ex ipso, hoc ipsum quod sumus indicat* ✠
et finis in ipso erit, tunc R
- 109 B *Non per salutem illorum neque* AMB
tamen per misericordiam dei orat AM
Cum per omnem textum epistolae ORIG OR
- 109 C *bonum tunc placet deo, si rationabiliter* P.
- 109 D *Obsequium hic cultum dicit* ORIG OR
Pro uiribus autem explanare P
- 110 A *Vide ergo ne forte cum uenit d.* p.
- 110 B *Renouatur autem sensus noster* S.
legis eius intelligentiam spiritalem L.
- 110 C *Prohibitus humana sapientia* P.
Haec gratia peritia intellegitur AM
Videndum est quia Paulus sicut d. ORIG OR

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- 110 D *Reperimus autem nos in quodam P*
- 111 A *per gratiam quae data est sibi S-*
plus uult sapere qui illa scrutatur d. p.
Aperte ostendit hoc nos debere AMB AM
- 111 B *sed sapere, inquit, ad sobrietatem ORIG. OR*
Sicut diuisit deus mensuram fidei OGR (sic) OR
- 111 D *ordinatissime per haec componens ORG OR*
singuli habemus actus, uerbi gratia ✱
- 112 B *Cum dixisset singulos quosque ORIG. OR*
Nunc autem illa officia deputata AMB AM
- 112 C *Prophetia intelligenda est quam docet ORIG OR*
Possumus haec omnia ad illam regulam d.
Similiter dicitur adiuuari doctorem AM
- 112 D *Qui docet maior est eo qui p-*
Qui tribuit indigentibus et praestat AM
Qui praeest in ecclesia uel fratribus p-
- 113 A *qui ecclesiae praesunt, recipiant d ORIG OR*
quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror ? S
Videtur fortassis unum atque idem ORIG OR
Tota puritas debet esse in Christiano P-
- 113 B *Non magnum dicit uitare malum AM*
Observandum etiam hoc quod ORIG OR
Ita uos diligite quasi ex una S-
Hoc est quod et dominus docuit P-
- 113 C *Spe gaudet qui non respicit ORIG OR*
Manifestum est quia qui preces AM
- 113 D *sed et quaeramus et solliciti simus OR*
Recordare Lot et inuenies quod d ORIG
- 114 A *Gaudete cum gaudentibus, flete OR*
Non cum illis, qui sicut mortui sunt ORIG
- 114 B *Sermo iste non natura sui ORIG OR*
Alia sapere superbe sapere est AMB AM
- 114 C *et suam alienam. Nolite esse AM*
Qui sibi prudens uidetur, hic OR
non potest esse sapiens apud deum. Nisi ORIG
et reddere malum, non ut quendam uidetur OR
- 114 D *Hoc est quid dicit dominus : Nisi AM*
- 115 A *Coram hominibus prouidet quia bonus ORIG OR*
sicut in uobis est ut fieri possit d ORIG
Quo modo potest fieri ut peccet OR
- 115 B *Non uisum est quoniam uindictam, sed P*
- 115 C *Aut a fugiendo aut a perueniendo nuntii d ORIG OR*

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- sed quasi effuso ac digesto d.*
- 115 D *Noli illi negare quod deus nulli p.*
Hoc enim faciens carbones ignis AM
Fortassis isti carbones ignis qui ORIG
Potest enim fieri ut animus ferus OR
- 116 A *Noli uinci a malo, sed uince in bono malum OR*
Bono autem uincit malum qui ORIG
Contraria namque contrariis perimuntur ✱
- 116 B *Non enim est potestas nisi a deo ORIG*
Quid et illa potestas, quae OR
- 116 C *Quod autem dicit de potestate ORIG. OR*
- 116 D *Laus ex potestate tunc fit AM*
- 117 A *quoniam futurum iudicium deus statuit AM*
Ob hoc mihi uidetur dicere : Ideo necesse ORI OR
- 117 B *nam si uineam domini colamus ✱*
Quia colonis malis uineam tulit f
Potest etiam eleemosyna debitum appellari P.
Tributum est quod manu tribuitur. Vectigal AM IS
Primum ea quae sunt potestatis regiae AM
- 117 D *nam nouae legis mandatum est etiam P.*
Quo modo possit quis legem in uno ORI OR
- 118 A *Quoniam hora est iam nos p.*
Cotidie propior est nostra salus OR
- 118 B *dixit : Cum audieritis haec omnia ORIG*
Tenebrarum sunt opera uitia carnis AMB AM
quae sunt uitia carnis. Quae sint O.
Comessiones autem, sicut inhonesta ✱.
- 118 C *Recte ab his coerceri monet, quia AMB. AM*
Frequenter diximus Christum sapientiam O.
- 118 D *In hoc necessaria non prohibuit GG.*
Hinc probatur quia non de Iudaeis P.
- 119 A *Unde Iacobus ait : Qui iudicat ✱.*
- 119 B *Qui tres pueros leguminibus pastos ✱*
- 119 C *Cauendum est autem ne nos e ✱*
et mortuos suscitabit, quoniam uiuis AM
ex perditis enim iterum reformauit AM
Puto quod duobus modis constat ORIG OR
- 120 A *Tu autem quid iudicas fratrem tuum ? AM*
de Sem enim 27, de Cham 22 ✱.
- 120 B *Bonum, hoc est libertas, quam P.*
Bonum nostrum, hoc est doctrina dominica AM
Sed et hoc notandum, quia non P.

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- 130 A *Item: Qui ad maiora mittitur* GR *ggrius*
Ne euacuetur crux Christi. Id est p.
- 130 B *Subauditur apparebit? sapiens, ex gentibus.* H.
Qui quaerit de occultis naturis huius H.
- 130 C *Factura mundi dei sapientia est* p.
sed quoniam non cognouerunt homines p.
- 131 A *diaboli liberauit* ✱
Quia crux Christi diabolum fefellit ✱
Ac si diceret: Videte eos per quos L
- 131 D *Christum qui est absconditus* q.
Quam nemo principum huius saeculi AVG
Unde (Augustinus dicit Rheinau) apostolus AV
- 132 B *Quod oculus non uidit. In Isaia sic habetur* q. ✱
- 132 C *Quid uidet oculus? Colores.* H h.
Item quid est quod apostolus dicit ✱
- 132 D *Sancti uidebunt quod Paulus testatur* GG.
- 133 B *Infirmis in fide et contentiosis* ✱
Si ergo paruuli adhuc illi sunt ✱
- 133 D *Nos mercenarii sumus in agro alieno* L
- 134 A *In ecclesia tria genera sunt bonorum* p.
Item aurum cogitationes bonas ✱
- 134 B *Augustinus autem aliter exponit* AVG.
- 136 A *non ad ordinem, sed ad ministrationem* l
omnium, sicut statim subiungit r
- 136 B *Ironice quae uidetur confirmare, negat* ✱
Peripsema. Abiecti, humillimi. Peripsema ISID
Non ut confundam uos haec scribo. Ac si esi
- 136 C *After uos in fide Christi* a portion is added in the Rheinau MS.
- 137 A *Qui pro me erat praesens, litterarum mearum* H.
Id est tortori diaboli (read diabolo with ed. pr.) ut H.
oportebat enim ut per diabolum .GG. GO (after *diabolum* *peccauit* an extra part in both MSS)
- 137 B *Vetus fermentum. Fornicationem* P.
Etenim pascha nostrum. Ideo debetis ✱
- 137 D *duodecim tribus Israel:* after these words a portion of Ambrosiaster in the Bamberg MS with AM in the margin.
In uobis iudicabitur. Id est, per uos. ORIG OR
- 138 A *Qui contemptibiles sunt in ecclesia* ISID.
Hoc est qui minimi sunt in ecclesia esi.
ac si diceret: Qui minores sunt GG
- 138 B *Item contemptibiles, qui minores sunt* .p.

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- Ideo hoc iterat : nam potuit putari AG an-*
 138 D *Nolite errare. Hoc est seduci existimantes esi-*
Aut nolite errare nosmet ipsos et alios ISI
 139 A *ut Augustinus in libro septimo de Civitate AVG-*
 139 B *de fornicatione tractat, vult materiam fornicationis **
Sed ergo (sic) sub nullius redigar potestate x¹
Paulus cui omnia licent, sub nullius potestate GG-
 139 D *Nunc extendit quantum verum fornicatio q-*
 140 A *foras exire a legitimo coniugio. Omne autem **
Aut in corpus suum faciat ; quia hoc vitium GG an
Quod si in vobis spiritus sanctus est GG
 140 B *Glorificati deum. Hoc est, agite ut esi*
glorificetur deus per opera vestra ISID
 140 D *Secundum intelligentiam. Infernis hoc indugio P **
 141 A *nam culpa scilicet ad coniugium veniant GG*
His autem dico, qui matrimonio. Proprie ISID
Non ego, sed Dominus. Qui dicit : esi-
Mare innuptam. Id est, ut non valeat ISID
Nam ceteris. Qui videlicet neque antio Christiani esi-
 141 B *Christiani sunt. Qua propter ? Scilicet ut AVG*
*Ac si dixerit : si permitterem virum **
 141 C *Sed vocavit deus. Sive cum fidei **
 141 D *Circumcisis aliquis vocatus est. Infer P -H-*
clerici, viri, et liberi, et sub metaphora H-
corum de nuptis disputat et innuptis q-
 142 A *Aliiter : Non pulet se superflue circumcisum -p-*
necessarium sui tempore. Sive hoc modo : -p-
Hoc est, non dimittat uxorem. Circumcisio H-
 142 B *Scriptis respondet, quia illi discunt GG*
 142 C *Ita virginitatem praeferimus GG*
si dominus virginitatem imperaret, condemnare AV-
minarium hominum existeret, unde virginitas AVG
et virginitatis praemium expectare r
 142 D *aeternum qui vel in corde suo promittit, si **
 143 A *pius praemii habet. Itaque dico, fratres -H- x²*
Hic omnes ad continentiam hortatur H
Quasi non habentes. Illi uxorem habentes GG
non displicent creatori. Fit quique, sed GG
ut tamen de aeternis laetis semper gaudeant GG
Gaudet quique tamquam si non gaudeat GG

¹ From the Overland MS.

² This text from Overland MS.

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- 143 B *Mundo quoque utitur, sed quasi non utatur, Qui GG*
Sunt qui patiuntur labores et pressuram .p.
- 143 C *Hic enim mundus imago futuri est. Si ✠*
Unde si hoc tam impense diligitis, quanto ✠
Si mundus transit, quo uniuersa clauduntur H.
ut sit frequens oratio? impedit enim coniugium r
- 143 D *Turpis uidebitur, si cum ad perfectam esi-*
aetatem peruenerit, neutrum deliberet, uel ISID.
- 144 A *Aliter ut Hieronymus exponit: H.*
At siquis, id est, siquis homo super uirginem HLE¹ HIE²
- 144 B *De his autem quae idolis immolantur. Subaudis p.*
ut sciret quid facerent. Nam alii eorum ✠
- 145 A *nonne conscientia eius id putabit xb³*
- 145 B *Nondum ualidam in fide Christi GG*
carnem in aeternum. Dat exemplum de se GG
- 145 D *Boui tritुरanti. Id est, doctori triticum ✠*
- 146 A *Gloriam meam. Praemium quo AV.*
- 146 C *Siue, ne utar potestate qui accepi esi.*
Nam cum liber essem. Id est licita ISID
- 146 D *sicut dicit in Actibus Apostolorum: Circuiui aras CASSIO*
- 147 A *Ac si diceret: Ut in breui ✠ AVG VG*
- 147 B *sicut in theatro quidem omnes currunt, sed ISID esi.*
Hic comparat duas plebes .p.
Veteris uidelicet et Noui Testamenti p.
- 147 C *Sicut enim de Aegypto a seruitute GG.*
- 148 B *Id est quae per fragilitatem et inscientiam ISID esi.*
diabolicum est perseuerare. Aliter: Temptatio CASS cas-
- 148 D *Quid ergo dico? Praeuenit nequis diceret P*
- 149 B *Si domini sunt, munda sunt omnia xb³*
- 149 C *dei facite. Hoc est, nihil faciatis p.*
- 149 D *Cur alibi dicit: Si q.*
- 150 B *Item Hieronymus in expositione Ezechielis IER*
Cumque ingredientur portas atrii in q. OH.
habent super capita sua. Si uirorum est .H.
sacerdotes capite tenuis uel cidare operiti q.
- 150 D *argumentis huic rationi resisterent, ac si ISID esi.*
- 151 A *et quod contentiosi erant. Oportet enim esi.*
Non quod hereses deo placeant, sed ISID
unde enim gubernator laudabitur, si nauis ✠

¹ This is from the Freising MS (Clm. 6238).² This is from the Oberaltaich MS.³ This is from the Freising MS.

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- 151 B *neque impertiebant. Apud Corinthios quondam esi*· ISID·
- 151 C *Ideo autem calix testamenti uocatur, quia* ✱
- 151 D *Et aegri. Id est, imbecilles quibusdam membris* p p·
- 152 A *sed putamus consuetudinem esse potius quam* ✱
Tribus sane causis infirmitates adueniunt ✱
- 152 B *De spiritalibus autem. Nunc de diuisionibus* H·
sed spiritu diabolico loquitur. Anathema perditio H· H
loquitur, quam diu paganus est. Et nemo AV·
- 152 C *ergo dicere inuocare est uel credere* AVG
- 152 D *Sermo sapientiae. Sapientia pertinet ad* ISID
Gratia curationum. Ut quis curet esi·
- 153 A *etiam de diuersis personis potest conuenienter* S·
- 153 C *Si totum corpus oculus. Hoc est, si omnes* p
- 154 A *Sicut nec totum corpus oculus est* GG· GG
- 154 C *Gennadius dicit. Vel perperam, uitiose, corrupte* B
Congaudet autem ueritati. Quia ut sit ISID·
Omnia suffert. Suffert iniurias, satisfaciendi esi· x^b·¹
- 155 A *Tunc cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum. Non ait* ISID esi·
- 155 C *Exhortationem. Exempli sanctorum patrum* q
- 155 D *aut in prophetia, aut in doctrina? In reuelatione* p q· cas·
Aut in scientia. Id est tropologico uel morali CASS
- 156 A *Mens autem mea sine fructu est. Dum non* AVG au·
- 157 B *Quia spiritalis gratia quae sint* x^b·¹
et apostolicis uiris ac praedicatoribus. Siue q·
- 158 A *non sit scriptum. Deinde Iacobo, Alphei* ✱
- 158 C *Quia sicut ille morientium forma est* x^b·¹
- 158 D *Deo patri. Deo Christo secundum humanitatem* ISID
- 159 A *Qua nos uicerunt: uirtus enim eorum* ·H·
Oportet enim illum regnare. Istud de homine H·
- 159 B *maxime cum et spiritus prophetarum* P
cum et ipse dominus Ioseph et Mariae ✱
- 159 D *expositione Epistolae ad Titum dicit* H
- 160 A *Ipse sibi ex contradicentium persona proponit* ✱
Quali autem corpore redeunt? Hoc ✱ x^b·¹
- 160 C *animale. In corporibus resurgentium* AG
tanta felicitas erit; propter quod et spiritalia āu·
- 160 D *Idem in libro de generibus uisionum* AVG AV
- 161 A *In spiritum uiuificantem. Nouissimus* p·
Non prius: sed quod spiritale est: sicut
prius animale, posterius spiritale corporis ✱

¹ Freising MS.

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- Id est, uitia et opera carnalia* ✱
- 161 B *frequenter enim scriptura carnem pro operibus* ✱
- 162 B *Ut eos ad largiorem prouocaret collationem cas.*
Quod uobis deerat. Id est, quod mihi a qS.
deerat de necessariis, ipsi suppleuerunt q.
- 163 C *Unde Saomon dicit: Gloria senum filii* ✱
- 163 D *Carnalis enim cum aliquid proponit, si ei* ✱
- 164 A *Amen. Verum, uel est amen, id est* AM (in text of Bamberg MS, really = *Amen*) *esid*
ueritatis impletio. Ad gloriam. Per nos ISID (in margin of Bamberg MS).
- 165 B *suae. Sicut sentitur antequam uideatur illud* ✱
- 165 C *Odor bonus. Bona fama est. Per Christianos* AVG AV.
sicut umbra Petri sanabat infirmos. AG
Aliter: Amasti bene agentem, unxisti bono AV
Pseudo-apostolos tangit, humanum sensum ✱
- 165 D *sicut ipse praedicauit? Incipimus iterum nos* ✱
- 167 A *Certum est quod speculo nisi imago* AVG AV
Transformamur ergo de forma in formam ✱.
- 168 B *Id est, propter uos et propter gloriam dei* AVG
Id est mens, ubi imago dei reformatur AV
- 169 B *Siue ergo mente excedimus, deo. Euangelium* AVG
Videbitis caelum apertum et angelos ascendentes AV.
- 169 C *descendunt in praedicatione. Verbum ecstasis Graece* AVG AV.
- 171 B *Et omnia possidentes. Nam excepto* ✱
necessaria nihil requirit. Per prospera CAS cas.
- 171 C *quae existimantur aduersa, quae per ignobilitatem* ✱.
- 173 A *Et contristauit uos. Et si me paenitisset* ✱ ✱
- 173 C *Et siquid apud illum. Quasi peritus* ✱
contristare quem dilexerant. Gaudeo quod in ✱
- 174 A *Id est, ne cum in aliis uincatis* ✱
- 174 C *Sicut scriptum est. Hoc de manna dei* ✱
cuius exemplo docemur quod omnis superabundantia ✱
- 175 B *Salomonis: In omni dato hilarem facito* ✱
Iustitia eius manet. Quare iustitiam, et non misericordiam H.
- 175 D-176 A *Mansuetudo autem in corde, modestia in uerbis est. Qui*
in facie ✱
- 176 B *Muniunt enim et circumdant* ✱
- 177 C *sicut serpens seduxit Euam. Sicut enim* ✱
- 178 D *Quinquies quadragenas. Quinquies flagellatus* q.
Una minus. Id est, causa nobilitatis meae q.
plagis: quinque uicibus trigenas et nouenas p. p.

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- 180 A *tribulationes et plagas suscitabat, siue dolor* .q.
- 181 C *hominem. Ut Aaron per Moysen. Quattuor* H.
- 182 B *Nescio quae uos aura a* H.
- 182 C *Et uolunt auertere euangelium Christi* H.
Euangelium ad legem reuocant, dum H.
facie, post tergum faciunt. Sed et si nos. Id H.
Anathema. Detestatio. Sicut praediximus. Id est H.
hominibus suadeo, an deo? Hoc est, numquid p.
- 182 D *Id est, non dei mandatorum* q.
- 183 A *Et hic quaeritur cur Paulus ab utero* q.
In me. Id est, per me. Non acquieui carni H.
Siue ut ego eo melius habens h.
- 183 B *Ideo ergo Lucas praetermisit de Arabia* .q.
- 183 C *Nisi Iacobum fratrem domini. Ne* H. h.
Ne autem hic Iacobum H.
Eusebius in libro secundo historiarum dicit EVS
- 184 D *peccatores. Nos, inquit, ego et tu* H.
- 185 C *fascinauit? Quis uobis inuidit? Fascinatio* h.
- 186 A *Ostendit Galatas accepto per fidem spiritu* .h.
Non dixit operatus est per legem, sed sola fide .H.
- 186 C *qui pendet in ligno. Non ideo* ACIG (sic) AV
Ille negat Christum maledictum, qui negat q.
mortem de peccato esse, et ob hoc q.
- 187 A *hominem dico. Hoc est, humano* ī
quanto magis dei testamentum, hoc est .H. h.
- 187 B *testamentum illud non potest euacuare* p.
euacuare, quod Abraham (-ae ed. pr.) deus p.
triginta annos facta est lex q
Habitatio filiorum Israel, qua B q.
- 187 D *Hic autem hyperbaton est, ex omni* h.
- 188 B *sub pedagogo sumus. Nam perfectae* AV
Ad hoc ualet, ne gentes de se AVG
- 188 C *quam diu paruulus est. Paruulus filius* AVG AV
- 188 D *actoribus. Qui eum ad bonos mores* .H.
Christi gentiles seruiebant. Alii legem p.
Reciperemus. Non accipiamus, sed recipiamus AVG
- 189 A *sumus. Clamantem. Non clamare* H.
uernaculus. Immo cogniti estis a AVG
non quod tunc cognouisset illos AV
- 189 B *Ad infirma et egena elementa. Quae* AV
posuit. Infirma autem dicuntur AVG
Sunt quaedam, quae leuissima putarentur AG

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- opinione grauiora. Quis aestimaret* AV
- 189 C *homo sum sicut et uos. Nihil me laesistis p-
uestrae causa moueri. Laedit discipulus H. H*
- 189 D *uestram. Temptati sunt enim cum AVG AV
Aemulantur uos. Id est, inuident uobis, qui AVG AV*
- 190 A *Confunditur, quia H (faded or erased)
Dedit autem regulam ex hoc loco p.*
- 190 B *aliud ex alio significantia H. h.*
- 190 C *Iudaei metu etiam in praesenti P.
Hoc dicit, quia, sicut confinis est Sion p.
Cum filiis suis. Id est, Iudaeis. Item secundum AM. .AM.*
- 190 D *sursum est Hierusalem. Id est, quam CASS cās.*
- 191 A *Quattuor figurae, ut historia, allegoria CASS cās.
ecclesia Christi; secundum anagogen cās.*
- 191 B *id est, Isaac: in Genesi quidem hoc p.*
- 191 D *Id est, fidei passibus. Persuasio uestra H. h.
Parua scintilla moenia urbis latissimos H. h.*
- 192 C *Ita fit ut non ideo quia sub h.
imperat natura cessauit, non enim ita H
Id est, non superbiam insinuo P.
Quod si mordetis. Id est, oculum H
consumamini. Id est, ne aliquis alicui H
ambulate. Id est, spiritalibus p.
spiritalibus desideriis et operibus p.*
- 192 D *Item caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum H. h.
hoc est, scripturae carneus intellectus CASS cās*
- 193 A *Hic opera carnis magis uidentur H. H
Quae in duas species, in gulam et fornicationem H.
Irae. Inter iracundiam et iram H.*
- 193 B *Pax. Etiam cum odientibus pacem. Patientia p.*
- 193 C *ad quid est nobis lex necessaria, quae t
seruiamus. Inanis gloriae cupidus est P.
Considerans te ipsum. Hic Paulus ab H.*
- 193 D *Ne et tu tempteris. Quia et ipse P. p.*
- 194 A *ut instruerent in spiritu lenitatis H.
Nolite errare. Ac si aliquis diceret h.
seminauerit homo. Roborat eos ad AVG AV
carnalibus desideriis. Aut in carne sua H. H*
- 194 C *Mundus crucifixus est. Ut me non teneat. Et ego AV*
- 195 A *Non omnibus Ephesiis, sed his qui credunt P.
sancti fideles sunt, non omnes fideles sancti p.*
- 195 B *in Christo Iesu. Plures fideles sunt, sed H. H*

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- 195 C *Benedictus deus. Quod nos benedictos facit* H. H
Vel in omni abundantia et gratia H.
non in una, sed in cunctis benedictionibus H.
Aliiter, non in carnali prosperitate P. p.
In Christo Iesu. In capite namque H.
constitutionem. Cui omnia futura praesentia H
- 196 A *Inter sanctum et immaculatum hoc interest* H.
quoque intelligi potest, immaculatus uero H
In adoptionem filiorum. Nam saluator eius P. P
In dilecto. Ab omnibus subauditur: nam etiam H. H
- 196 B *Secundum diuitias cognitionis gloriae* ✠
Hoc est, plus quam abundauit, ut non p.
sed in deo. Mysterium uoluntatis. Scilicet H.
Scilicet redemptionem nostram per suum H.
- 196 C *Quod proposuit in eo. Inter propositum et* H.
cum uicina sit machinatio, et pene AV
Item praedestinatio est gratiae praeparatio AVG
Id est, postquam uenit plenitudo temporum p
Latino codice scriptum est instaurare. Sensus H.
loco iste est: Omnis dispensatio quae H
- 196 D *a Cain occisus. Instaurantur quae in* AVG AV
- 197 A *Gentes, ut sint grati de beneficiis dei. Signati* H
- 197 B *Non cesso agens et faciens per soloecismum* H
agere et facere. Notandum uero quia H.
- 197 C *spiritalia enim promissa non nisi* P.
- 197 D *Et constituens ad dexteram suam. Non quod* H
uirtutem et dominationem. Nouem angelorum GG
- 198 B *humanitatis eius: contrarium uidetur* H.
Necdum uidemus ei omnia subiecta, etc. Aut H.
- 198 C *Qui per omnia in omnibus adimpletur* p p.
dona in omnibus, quia singula dona, uel plura H.
Nam in alio deus iustitia est, in alio H
παρπτώματα, hoc est, delicta H.
- 198 D *Id est, diabolum. Multi sane opinantur* P. P
Et cogitationum. In Graeco mentium H.
pertinet contraria ueritati. Et H
- 199 A *Id est, quod daturus sit, quae* H
- 199 B *Quae dicitur circumcisio. Id est, non uirtute* H.
In carne. Id est, non spiritu. Manu facta H.
- 199 C *Et medium parietem maceriae* P.
duos populos diuidentia, et ideo ipse .p
Aliiter, soluens inimicitiam, id est, H.

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- Item, ipse est pax nostra, qui fecit* H.
- 199 D *Idem in expositione Habacuc: Ipse* H.
- 200 A *Christianum effectum: in uno spiritu* H. p.
Ergo iam non estis hospites. Ad id quod H
Sed estis ciues. Praemisera, alienati a H.
Quo modo enim peregrini facti sunt ✠
- 200 B *Apostoli fundamentum sunt, uel Christus* H.
sanctum in domino. In templo sancto P.
- 200 C *Sensuum magis in apostolo quaerendus* H. H
fecerit unum. Ego Paulus. Id est H.
in Christo. Sicut supra scripsi. H.
huius epistolae; quoniam dixit: Ut H
- 200 D *Christi, non in eloquentia saeculari. Non est* H. H
- 201 A *illos sociatos esse, non carnis* H
Coheredes. Id est, Israelis, uel H.
Christi: ut hereditas deus nostra P.
non solum coheredes, quod possunt diuersi p
Mihi enim minimo omnium H
data est gratia haec. Non puto apostolum H
suae concordasse secreto, ut q
qui erant in Epheso, Corintho, Thessalonica q.
- 201 B *inuestigabiles diuitias Christi. Quaeritur si* ·q· q·
- 201 C *Ut innotesceret principibus. Ut per me* P. p
Item: Si principibus et potestatibus in caelis H. H
- 201 D *et prophetis ignota fuit? quos supra* q·
- 202 A *Hoc solus pater omnium praestat ceteris* H. H
Ut possitis comprehendere quae sit H.
quae sit latitudo. Quidam dicunt quod H
longitudo uita aeterna, altitudo caelestes P
- 202 B *Nulla rotunditas longitudinem et latitudinem* H. H
Hoc est, ut digni simus per scientiam et P
habere Christi supereminentem caritatem. Supereminet P.
quam petimus aut intelligimus. Redit H. H
- 203 A *gratia secundum mensuram. Nunc de* H
Quamuis immensus est deus, tamen iuxta H
donat, id est, ut capere possimus H.
et in suis membris accipit. Quod autem q·
sed dignanter descenderat. Super omnes H q ·H·
- 203 B *summo caeli fornice? Aut certe omnia* ·q·
Alios pastores et doctores. Non autem H. H
- 203 C *omnes in unitate fidei. Ex libro de* AVG AG
- 203 D *uel in mensuram staturae, sed in mensuram* AVG

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- 204 B *iustis quibuslibet. Et conexum. Neruis p.*
ad pedes, ex capite conexum corpus P
- 204 C *et testificor in domino. Quos superius H*
hoc ergo dico uobis, qui occursuri estis H.
ita didicistis Christum. Discere Christum, idem H. H
- 205 A *neque laniare, ita et uos. Irascimini cas*
Euidenter hoc dicit uitis et furori CASS.
- 205 B *Qui furabatur, iam non furetur. Hoc est P. P*
qui multos furando fecit egentes. Magis H.
Magis autem laboret, et H
*et possit commodare esurienti et necessitatem **
*dans in tempore cibaria caelestis dogmatis **
ut possit tunicam facere conscissam. Diabolus est H. H
- 205 C *Et nolite contristare spiritum sanctum dei AVG aüg*
- 205 D *laudanda atque praedicanda est. Item: Nolite P. P*
- 206 A *Amaritudo. Rancor in corde. Ira. Quae .q. q.*
ueniat et bibat. Peccatum perpetrare ISID esi.
- 206 B *et auaritiam. Et omnis immunditia H. H¹*
- 206 C *turpitude, id est libidinosa cogitatio. Inter H*
gratiae actio. Non ut deo gratias agamus H
- 206 D *dicitur pecunia. In filios diffidentiae. In H*
- 207 B *deo. Quia uidetur tota scatere sententia H*
- 207 C *estis. Quae enim in occulto fiunt. Fornicatio H*
Omne autem quod manifestatur lumen est. P
dicit: exsurge a mortuis. Ego secundum H
- 207 D *ipsa quoque Hebreorum uolumina diligenter q*
- 208 A *dies mali sunt. Per metanomiam pro esi*
- 208 B *Et nolite inebriari uino. Quo modo H*
in psalmis. Hymni sunt, qui fortitudinem H
- 208 C *nouerimus. Qui uero de superioribus d*
uestris domino, gratias agentes pro f
in timore Christi. Propter timorem Christi H
- 209 A *ecclesiam. Ita et uos pro sanctitate P*
Id est, anima. Et immaculata. Id est H.
- 209 B *necessaria sunt praebeamus. Sicut Christus H*
patrem et matrem suam. Spiritualiter q
Christus deum patrem, et matrem Hierusalem .q.
coniugio. Ut unus quisque uxorem sicut .H.
- 209 C *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum H*
interpretationem saluatoris. Proximus q

¹ The leaf in the Bamberg MS containing from *carnis* (B 14) to *corporis* (209 A 1) has disappeared.

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- homo. Nulla ergo erit inter uxorem et -q-
in uerbo timoris sunt: Una est qua serui H.
altera pro reuerentia dici potest, ut uxor ✕*
- 210 A *In simplicitate cordis. Id est, deposita P
superbia et simulatione. Hic autem P.
Christo. Pulchre addidit, sicut Christo, ut H. H*
- 210 B *oculum. Praesentibus tantum dominis. Sicut P
facit. (then a sentence omitted in the printed editions, but
present in the Bamberg and Rheinau MSS) Cum bona
uoluntate P.*
- 210 C *harum. Tota ista terrena uita tenebrae H
In caelestibus. Id est, in aere discurrentibus H.
Succincti lumbos. Zona continentiae: quia H. H*
- 210 D *Sumite, inquit, scutum fidei, in quo CASS*
- 211 B *Per omnem orationem. Semper hunc ·P· P*
- 212 A *Tychicus. Dupliciter intelligendum: uel ✕ H*
- 212 B *Pax fratribus et caritas. Pax et caritas P*
- 213 B *Si enim eum occiderint, martyrio ✕*
- 214 B *illi nomen. Quod est filius. Quod est q· q
Omne genu flectatur. Non ad corporis H*
- 214 C *sine querella. Apud homines et deum. AVG*
- 215 A *Id est, qui mihi uestra uice AVG
Non esse contristandum de mortuis AVG*
- 215 D *stercora. Stercora sunt quae eiciunt q·
Non ueteris testamenti doctrina, sed Pharisaeorum H. H*
- 216 A *iam acceperim. Perfectionem, quam H. H*
- 216 C *Iesu. Quando sanctis dicitur: Venite H.
mundi. Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus H
Hoc sentiamus. Non comprehendisse P.
Aut uetera obliuiscenda, et noua sectanda P
semper cogitemus. Vel sic se habet H. H
aliter sentitis. Hoc est, si nec P.*
- 216 D *Hoc uobis dominus reuelabit. Scilicet P
perfectionem, hoc uobis deus reuelabit H. H*
- 217 B *Lege epistolam ad Timotheum ✕*
- 217 D *Timotheus. Hi specialiter nominantur P*
- 218 D *auaritiae. Omnis qui adulatur ✕*
- 219 B *opera. Et sine querella. Non alios ✕
solicitudinibus. Siquis enim sanctus ✕*
- 219 C *persequentium, siue omnis labor contrarius BAS*
- 220 B *corporali. Suum uas possidere. Proprium L.
deum. Auctorem castitatis. Ut nequis H. H*

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- 220 C *conuersatur. A deo didicistis. A* ✠ ✠
diligatis. Ut quieti sitis. Quidam P
aliqua etiam ad religionis obprobrium P.
negotium agatis. Necesse est enim CAS. CAS
- 220 D *requirit, adulationi quoque operam dare* ✠ ✠
- 221 A *In iussu dei, ut: Mortui audient L.*
Et in uoce archangelī: hoc est L
- 221 B *Rapiemur in nubibus. Sicut corpus domini L*
- 221 C *iusti iudicii dei. Ut exemplum q. q*
- 222 D *Ecce est Christus hic uel illic. Quoniam .q.*
uenerit discessio. Hoc est q.
- 223 B *Antichristus. Qui nunc. Rex Romanorum. Tenet. Regnum.*
q. q
tunc Neronis. Hoc de imperio Romano AVG
- 223 D *Iesus Christus et deus pater contra* ✠
- 224 A *qui ideo patrem maiorem putat, quia prior* ✠
Denuntiamus autem uobis, ut abstrahatis uos P
ambulante inordinate. Quia in primis p.
- 224 B *praecepta incedit. In prima rogat, hic CAS*
- 225 B *imago dei inuisibilis. Similitudo est P AVG*
magnitudinis et paruitatis, imago in expressa AVG
- 225 D *Notandum quare non dicit per crucem .q. q*
creaturae. Minister. Praedicator. Et adimpleo q
- 226 D *Secundum corporale aliquid uel proprie AVG*
uocabulo, sicut dictum est: Quia in ipso q
diuinitas corpus est, sed quia sacramenta q.
- 227 A *id est peccata. Delens chirographum quod q*
unde alibi ait: Christus nos redemit .P.
- 227 B *Nam titulus, qui scriptus est super crucem Q.*
- 227 D *habet Christum, qui est uita. Crescit in H. H*
in secessum uentris. Quae sunt rationem q. Q
- 228 A *Mortificate igitur membra uestra quae sunt CAS*
Prius ergo quam cetera perscrutemur CASS
- 228 C *Concupiscentiam malam. Quae non solum ad* ✠
dominus in euangelio: qui uiderit, inquit, mulierem .q.
Fornicationis autem genera sunt tria. Q
- 228 D *Quae est idolorum seruitus. Cernis itaque ad quantam CASS*
CAS
- 229 A *Sed omnia in omnibus Christus est. Quod ita CAS*
- 229 B *In nomine domini. Id est, ad gloriam nominis h*
Qui filium suum ad haec docenda destinare O.
- 231 A *Quorum primus ego sum. Ante Paulum non erant AVG*

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- 231 B *Quam quidam repellentes. Male uiuendo. -q.*
Quos tradidi Satanae. Ut ex praesenti Q
- 231 C *Primum ergo omnium obsecro fieri CAS*
His uerbis apostolus quadripartitam CAS
quid gratiarum actione signetur. Obsecrationes -q.
Orationes sunt, quibus aliquid offerimus H.
- 232 A *excessus domino refert. In omni pietate -q. P*
pro talibus oretur. Qui omnes homines Q
- 232 B *Honorem deo tribuimus, quando pro collatis Q*
- 232 C *Ex libro De Genesi ad Litteram undecimo AVG*
Vir quidem non debet uelare caput AVG
cum in illa gratia dicat nec masculum q. Q
- 233 B *prouocatur, non honoris. Oportet enim huius modi H. H*
- 233 C *Primum itaque sine crimine sit, quod q. Q*
- 233 D *Esto quippe aliquem adolescentulum ✕*
- 234 A *nisi omnes receperit, inhumanus est. Docibilem p. P*
- 235 A *dei. Id est quo sanctificatur cibus ac AV*
- 235 B *doctrinae. Primo lege, deinde exhortare ✕*
- 235 D *Viuens mortua. Secundum animam; ergo siquae L. L*
- 236 A *conuersatione peiores sunt. Vidua eligatur H*
In ministerium diaconatus, uel ut H
Nam iuniores uiduae possunt ad suum q. q
cum plurimis uiris fuit, uidua non sit. Q
- 237 B *quidquid enim hic inuenitur ✕*
- 237 C *Merito initium omnis peccati q AVG*
Cui testimonio non inconuenienter aptatur AVG
- 238 A *sed propriam potestatem. Radix excisa semper -P.*
quia in transgressionem Adae multa erant uitia GG
multa erant uitia, ut est: Si de hoc ligno q
Denique cum dixerit aperientur, hic ostenditur -q.
- 238 C *Veram uitam. Id est, futuram: affirmat praesentem ✕*
- 239 A *Illuminauit autem uitam. Ostendit quo modo uita ✕*
uita et incorruptio quaereretur. Sed non confundor. ✕
- 240 A *sicut cancer serpit. Cancer esse dicitur uulnus q*
- 240 B *qui dormierant surrexerunt. Aut factum esse q.*
- 242 A *scilicet auditorum. Aliter: Prurientes auribus -q. Q*
- 242 B *Titus in Dalmatiam. Isti autem missi sunt B*
affer tecum. Penula est enim lacerna in B
- 242 C *Item lacerna stola aut genus cucullae EVS (or FVS)*
id est lacerna clarata EVO
- 241 D *Hanc epistulam scribit de Nicopoli, quae H. H*
- 242 D *Aliter: Haec est plane ueritas, quae non habet H. H*

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- 243 A *uerbum suum in praedicatione. Attende textum* H. H
- 243 B *ut gentes docerent. Huius rei gratia* H
dura corda mollierat, tam in signis H
- 243 C *Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse* H
ante quam diaboli instinctu studia in H.
- 243 D *delatam. Non iracundum. Iracundus est* H. H
- 244 A *Quoniam ad exitum sermonis et ad continentiam* H. H
- 244 C *Hoc Epimenides siue Callimachus Cyrenensis* .q. Q
- 245 A *Noui scilicet testamenti. Omnia* P
Omnia munda mundis. Quia adhuc P.
uocabant. Omnia munda. His uidelicet qui in H. H
sed pro qualitate uescentium, et mundum mundis H.
- 245 B *si in persecutione quis a gentibus comprehensus* H
Ecce apostolus omnibus quae peruersa sunt H.
quae peruersa sunt factis deum ✱
deum asserit denegari. Christus sapientia ✱.
- 245 C *negatur per insipientiam sapientia* q
per turpitudinem sanctitas, per imbecillitatem L.
confitetur. Est et quaedam laudanda negatio L
- 246 A *Aliud est enim sanam doctrinam loqui, aliud ea* H.
- 246 B *in dilectione, in patientia. Generaliter Tito ante* H. H
- 246 C *Non criminatrices. Blasphematrices, uel* H
uel accusatrices: hoc utique quia ipsae H.
- 246 D *et non suum esse, sed uini. Bene docentes* H
- 247 D *In integritate. Id est, in uirginitate. In grauitate* Q
- 248 A *Argue. Eos qui non ita uiuunt. Cum omni imperio* H.
- 248 C *Stultas autem quaestiones. Plurima exempla sunt* H. H
Iudaei praeue quaerunt deum, sperantes ✱
posse sine Christo. Heretici uano sermonum ✱
- 249 B *Sunt enim inutiles. Quid enim prodest scire* ✱
- 250 A *uictoriam Augusti, quod ibi Antonium Cleopatramque* .q.
superauit, nomen accepit. Et Apollo. .L. qL
- 249 D *In Graeco non habes dilecto, sed diligibili* .H. H
Inter dilectum autem et diligibilem .q. q
- 250 D *In uinculis euangelii. Quae patior propter* L L
- 251 A *discessit ad horam a te. Hoc est, fortasse* q.
dei prouidentia procurauit, unde non numquam q
- 251 B *Celerum si ad ius meum redeam, propter* ✱
et Christianus effectus es, te mihi ipsum ✱
- 251 C *deus loquens patribus in prophetis. Quoniam* H
Tota intentio beati apostoli fuit ALBINVS ALB
locutos esse, dicens: Multifarie multisque P

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- 251 D *nobis in filio. Multifarie, id est, multis P*
nunc in nube et aliis signis; aliquando GG
- 253 D *Notandum quod hic prius dicit ✠*
terram, deinde subinfert, sunt caeli. Sermo ✠
- 254 B *Ne a salute discedendo pereamus. Etsi h.*
Nam se coniungit cum reliquis fidelibus q.
Contestante deo signis. Praesentibus. Et portentis. Q
- 255 A *gratis peccata dimisit, nullis praecedentibus ALBI*
Pro omnibus gustaret mortem. ALB
siue dum per ipsum facta sunt. Aliter: Per P
- 255 D *In eo enim. Corpore seu iure. Potens est eis ALB*
- 256 A *Quapropter sicut dicit spiritus sanctus. Dum domus Q*
uiuimus in praesenti. Vel hodie, in Nouo ALB
nolite obdurare corda uestra. Tres autem ALB
- 257 A *Hic si pro affirmatione positum est ALBINVS ALB*
- 257 B *per fidem cum operibus curramus. Viuus est ✠*
Hic ostenditur eundem nos habere iudicem ✠
- 257 D *Esuriendo, sitiendo, etc. Ad thronum ALB*
- 258 A *Secundum ordinem Melchisedech ○*
Quia Melchisedech uinum et panem obtulit ✠
- 258 B *Eusebius dicit in libro Historiarum EVS ○*
Hic Melchisedech in diuinis uoluminibus
Sed qui non oleo communi perunctus sit ✠
- 258 C *neque qui ex successione generis suscepit ✠*
- 258 D *Ad perfectionem feramur. Ad perfectam fidem ALB*
cum bonis operibus feramur, aut de ALB
Ab operibus mortuis. Quae interimunt animam. Et ALB
- 259 A *ad deum baptismatum. Pluraliter loquitur pro ALB*
ita criminosi homines non possunt iterum baptizari ✠
- 259 B *et praemiorum et uitae post mortem. Iterum renouari GG*
Ad paenitentiam. Id est, per paenitentiam. Quid ALB
- 259 D *in requiem meam. Non enim nisi semper ALB*
Aliter: Benedicens benedicam te, id est ALB
- 260 A *et iuramentum dei. Item duas res immobiles AL ALB*
- 260 B *Secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Non O*
Melchisedech rex Salem. Salem est oppidum H. H
- 260 C *tribu. Neque initium dierum. Hic ostenditur q.*
- 260 D *cessabant sacerdotes ministrare, sed custodes ORIG*
Hunc Melchisedech alii angelum, alii spiritum H
propter excellentiam suam esse suspicantur ○
- 262 A *Aliter secundum Augustinum: Abraham AVG*
- 262 C *multos ad perfectum duxit. Sponsor. L*

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- 263 B *Ecclesiae deum confitenti. Testamentum nouum.* ALB
- 263 C *Euangelium et legem gratiae. Hoc est* ALB
- 263 D *Tabernaculum, quod erat pro tempore. Non sic q.*
Candelabrum uero carnem Christi septem donis Q
- 264 B *oblationibus prioribus. Ubi enim testamentum* ALB
- 264 C *testatur indulgentiam peccatorum. Poterat aliquis* ALB
Alioqui nondum ualet. Quia quam diu uiuit testator ALB
- 265 B *Non cessassent offerre. Non iterum offerrent* ALB
si per unam hostiam mundati essent, et quamuis ALB
- 266 A *Christi dimittuntur peccata. Hic ostendit distantiam* ALB
- 268 A *Aliter: In hoc loco quidam frustra.* AVG H
- 268 D *Iephte. Offerente filiam* L
- 269 A *Ut Isaias.* (Then in Rheinau MS the words *secundum Isidorum*)
 esi
- 269 D *Nam sicut per unam escam unius diei esuries* L

The complete resolution of these symbols is not here attempted. To begin with, not all indicate the names of authors. Some seem to have to do with figures of speech, in which, like other grammatical problems, Irish scholars appear to have taken a more than average interest. Hellmann has devoted some attention to such cryptic symbols in his monograph already mentioned.¹ To the 'Chrismon' ✠ he does not attach any meaning, Z he regards as indicating a lacuna or an error, O as a sign of a doubtful passage, f as meaning perhaps *semper legendum*², 7 as an indication of individual glosses. He does not mention D, which seems to be a sign of scripture quotation, and I do not myself seem to have noted 7. I have purposely omitted the marginal numbers indicating *capitula*, as Sedulius appears to have used the well-known Vulgate *capitula*. What has interested me especially has been the symbols indicating authors, and, while here also I have left something for others to do, I hope that my list of the authorities acknowledged by Sedulius may be regarded as approximately complete. I have arranged the full names in alphabetical order, and added the symbols within brackets. The identification of the actual passages in the works of the authors used has proceeded only so far. When it is completed by others, it will, taken in conjunction with the information already collected by Hellmann both from the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis* and the *Codex Cusanus*,³ enable us to reconstruct the library of Sedulius, or that which he was privileged to use, in the most gratifying manner. It is hardly

¹ *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 192 f.

² Not rather 'Sedulius' f or 'syllogism' f

³ In the second and third parts of his *Sedulius Scottus*.

probable that any other author of his period is equally scrupulous in recording his indebtedness to earlier writers.

ALBINVS (= Alcuin) (ALBI, ALB, AL)

Alcuin's commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. In certain copies of Ambrosiaster's commentaries, such as Oxford Bodl. 689 (saec. xii), it is added under the name of Ambrose, since Ambrosiaster wrote no commentary on that Epistle.¹ Almost certainly Alcuin issued the commentary without a name, like Haymo, and doubtless others. The commentary on seventy-five Psalms, published under the name of Rufinus, is also Alcuin's work,² and was also doubtless issued anonymously.

AMBROSIVS (AMB AM)

Ambrosiaster's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the Latin translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.³

AVGVSTINVS (AVG, AV, AG)

Enchiridion = 13 D

De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio = 21 A

Liber Quaestionum = 77 C

De Ciuitate Dei: xxii 15 = 203 C: vii 24, 26 = 139 A

De Genesi ad Litteram: xii 7 § 18 = 160 D, 161 A: xi 42 §§ 58-60 = 232 C, D, 233 A: x 20 § 36 = 262 A

Ambrosiaster's Quaestiones, the earlier edition: p. 445 ll. 3-6 = 13 C:

Migne *P. L.* xxxv 2261, title, and ll. 59-2262 l. 3 = 131 D, 132 A-

B: p. 476 ll. 1-16 = 215 A, B

Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermones* 102 § 2 = 70 D, 71 A, B

De Trinitate = 14 A

Contra Iulianum: lib. ii = 54 D

De Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus, qu. 1 § 12 = 134 B, C

BASILIVS (BAS)

= 219 C

BEDA (Be)⁴

= 154 C

CASSIANVS (CASSIO⁵, CASS, CAS)

Conl. xxii 15 p. 635, ll. 1-3, 19-23 = 70 C

Conl. xvii 20 § 7 p. 483, l. 19-p. 484, l. 1 = 146 D

Inst. v 16 p. 94, ll. 4-12 = 148 B, C

Inst. vii 17 p. 141, ll. 20-23 = 162 B

¹ Riggenbach in Zahn's *Forschungen*, viii Teil, 1 Heft (Leipzig 1907), pp. 18 ff.

² H. Brewer in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.* xxxvii (1913), pp. 668-675.

³ Cf. H. B. Swete's edition of the latter, vol. i (Cambr. 1880), pp. xli f.

⁴ Probably B and b belong to Bede also.

⁵ This is clearly an error, as CASSIO could properly refer only to Cassiodorus.

Conl. vi 9 p. 161, l. 15—p. 162, l. 10 = 171 B, C, D

Conl. xiv 8 p. 405, ll. 15–20 = 191 A

Conl. iv 11 p. 105, ll. 3–9 = 192 D

Inst. viii 9 p. 157, ll. 18–22 = 205 A

Conl. vii 5 p. 186, ll. 17–24 = 210 D, 211 A

Inst. x 7 p. 179, l. 24—p. 180, l. 4 = 220 C, D

cf. p. 181, ll. 7–10 = 220 D

Inst. x. 7 p. 180, ll. 16–22 = 224 B

Conl. xii 1, 2 p. 335, l. 2—p. 336, l. 23 = 228 A—C

Conl. v 11 p. 132, l. 23—p. 133, l. 12 = 228 C, D

Inst. vii 7 p. 134, ll. 8–14 = 228 D

Conl. ix 9, p. 260 ll. 4–9 = 231 C

11 p. 261, l. 4—p. 262, l. 15 = 231 C, D, 232 A

CASSIODORVS (CAS)

De Artibus ac Disciplinis : praef. = 33 C¹

In Psalt. : praef. 15 = 33 C

EVSEBIVS—RVFINVS (EVS²)

Historia Ecclesiastica : lib. ii 1 § 2 p. 103, l. 17—p. 105, l. 3 = 183 C

„ iii 4 § 5 p. 193, ll. 16–17 = 229 D

„ i 3 §§ 17, 18 p. 37, ll. 7–11 = 258 B, C

FAVSTVS REIENSIS (FAVS, FAVST)

De Spiritu Sancto ii 5 p. 145, ll. 14–17, 26–29 = 59 C, D

De Gratia ii 3 p. 63, ll. 10–13 = 79 D, 80 A

perhaps a lost portion of De Gratia ii 6 = 85 A

De Gratia ii 6 p. 73, ll. 20–22 = 87 B, C

De Gratia i 12 p. 43, ll. 13–20 = 87 C, D

De Gratia ii 1 p. 59, l. 23—p. 60, l. 1 = 90 A

GENNADIUS

The reference on p. 154 C is not to the *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum*, and, if the B in the margin of the Bamberg MS is to be trusted, the passage comes through Bede (from a lost work of Gennadius, or one falsely attributed to him).³

GREGORIVS MAGNVS (GG, GR)

Moralia in Iob = 138 A

HIERONYMVS (HIER, IER, H)

His commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus.⁴ (Never Pseudo-Jerome on the Epistles of St Paul.)

¹ Where Isid. etym. i 2 § 1 seems to be combined with Cassiod.

² 242 B, C I cannot explain; it is perhaps an obscure reference to glossaries : see Thes. s.v. *cucullus*.

³ Cf. the case mentioned in the JOURNAL, vol. xiv (1912–1913), p. 339.

⁴ This last comm. is quoted even outside that of Sedulius on the same Epistle : e.g. 129 D, 159 D, 233 C, D.

Liber Quaestionum ad Algasiam (= epist. 121): 84 A

In Esaiam: lib. xvi prol. = 39 A, B

lib. xvii (c. 68, 18-19) = 129 A

In Ezechielem: lib. xiii (c. 44, 17 ff.) p. 549 = 150 B: 260 D

In Habacuc: 199 D, 215 D

In Ecclesiasten: ix 13 = 242 C

The Pelagian prologue '*Primum quaeritur*': first five lines of comm. on Hebr.

Adu. Iovinianum: i 13 (?) = 144 A: i 11 = 141 D

Epist. 73 § 7 = 260 B

Unidentified places, among others, are the following: 33 C, 132 D, 253 C

IOHANNES (IOH, IHO)

= 22 A

ISIDORVS (ISIDO, ISID, ISI, ESI, ES)

Nearly always Cassiodorus and his pupils on the Epistles of St Paul (published wrongly under the name of Primasius). No other instance of this attribution to Isidore is known to me, and I can give no certain explanation of it.

Etymologiae: vii 9 § 1 = 12 A: xvi 18 §§ 7, 8 = 117 B: i 36 §§ 5, 6(?) = 269 A

ORIGENES (ORIG, ORI, OR)

The commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, as translated by Rufinus.

PELAGIVS (PELAG, PELA, PEL, PILAG, PILG, PIL¹, P)

The commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of St Paul in its original, pure, uninterpolated form, save and except that some commentary on Hebrews seems cited under the same name once or twice. Riggensbach has noted parallels between notes of Sedulius on this Epistle and the meagre commentary in the St Gall MS no. 73², which for the other epistles is an interpolated form of Pelagius. These parallels, however, do not coincide with the two or three passages labelled P.

SEDVLIVS SCOTTVS (SEDVL, SEDL, SED³)

A few notes due to the compiler himself, which would hardly fill more than a column if gathered together.

A. SOUTER.

¹ The fourth, fifth, and sixth symbols definitely suggest 'Pilagius', the Irish form of the name, and presumably that which Sedulius employed. Cf. Zimmer *Pelagius in Ireland*, pp. 113, 163.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 218 ff.

³ Possibly the S occasionally found, whether uncial or minuscule, refers also to he compiler himself.

REVIEWS

SOME RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE CHURCH ORDERS.

The so-called Egyptian Church Order and derived documents, by
DOM R. HUGH CONNOLLY. (*Texts and Studies*, Vol. viii, No. 4,
Cambridge University Press, 1916.)

THIS latest number of *Texts and Studies* will be heartily welcomed by all students who have to deal with that perplexing class of documents known as the Church Orders. The five documents dealt with by Dom Connolly are: (1) The Canons of Hippolytus (= CH); (2) the 'Egyptian Church Order', a title given by Achelis—'merely to give it a name'—to the Church Order found in the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic versions of Horner and in the Latin fragments of Hauler (= Eg CO); (3) the Apostolic Constitutions Book viii (= AC viii); (4) the 'Constitutiones per Hippolytum'—the 'Epitome' of Funk (= Ep); (5) the Testament of our Lord (= Test).

The intricacy of the problems presented by the history and mutual relations of these documents, and the wide divergence of views held with regard to them, are such, that a reviewer may perhaps be justified in taking a wider survey than is usually permitted in dealing with a particular volume; and before attempting to appraise the value of this latest contribution, it will help to clear our minds if we can envisage in a brief review the course which the investigation into these Orders has taken in recent years.

In England the treatment of the problem has been largely dominated by the influence of Achelis's book *Die Canones Hippolyti*, which appeared in 1891. The reception given to that work in Germany by Harnack (though he subsequently modified his views), and by Duchesne and Batiffol in France, led for some time to the over-confident ascription of CH to a period contemporary with Hippolytus. In so well-known a book as Duchesne's *Origines du Culte chrétien* we find it stated (Eng. tr. p. 524), 'Taken as a whole . . . this collection of liturgical and disciplinary prescriptions belongs certainly to a date anterior to the fourth century, and there is nothing to hinder us from assigning it to the time of Hippolytus himself'. In the same year in which Achelis's

work appeared Funk published his book *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, in which he first propounded a view which reversed Achelis's order of priority of the documents, making AC viii the starting-point, and CH the end, of the development represented by the first four documents mentioned above. In 1899 a fresh factor was introduced into the problem by the publication of Rahmani's edition (in a Syriac version) of the Testament of our Lord. Both Achelis and Funk, though still maintaining their original views, were agreed in maintaining (as against the early date assigned to it by its editor) that this new document was a later elaboration or working up of material found in Eg Co (Connolly, p. 35). In 1900 appeared Hauler's *Didascalie apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia Latina*, containing the Latin text of considerable portions of Eg CO, which had been known to Achelis mainly in the Ethiopic version of Ludolf. Finally in 1904 Horner published in his *Statutes of the Apostles* the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic versions of Eg CO. The accession of this new material rendered possible a more thorough investigation of the original Greek text which underlies the different versions of this important but hitherto much neglected Church Order. Lastly, in 1905 appeared Funk's monumental work, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, in which was printed the text of the Apostolic Constitutions (with an *apparatus criticus*), set out in a convenient form so as to shew the parallels with the Didascalia and the Didache, and also containing the text of the 'Constitutiones per Hippolytum' or 'Epitome Constitutionum Apost. viii', as Funk calls it. In the preface to the second volume of this work Funk summarized the history of the discussion upon the Church Orders and restates the view of their relations which he had indicated in his earlier work on the Apostolic Constitutions, and more recently in his book *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften* (1901). But Funk's conclusions, though accepted in Germany by Harnack and Bardenhewer, found little or no acceptance in England, where his work has been strangely neglected, partly, no doubt, because of his somewhat paradoxical view as to the priority of AC viii. Yet Funk's method, with its insistence on detailed investigation of the documents themselves in the light of other and more certain sources of knowledge of early Church life, of which his book *Das Testament* was a specimen, is full of instruction, and would have proved a valuable discipline in face of the too ready assumption that in the main Achelis's solution held the field.

The late Bishop Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*, published in 1901 after the appearance of Hauler's Latin fragments, but before the publication of Mr Horner's texts, has exercised a considerable influence on the discussion of the Church Orders in England. Its chief characteristic

is the assumption that behind CH and other related documents there lies 'a lost Church Order'. But in other respects the author still shews the influence of Achelis and regards CH as 'the earliest working up of this lost Order', and as a Roman Church Order written before A. D. 199 (*op. cit.* pp. 20 f).

Bishop Maclean's *Ancient Church Orders* (1910), written after the publication of Horner's texts, summarizes in a convenient form in parallel columns the contents of the various Orders, though, as Dom Connolly observes (p. 4 note 2), he somewhat complicates the problem with regard to Eg CO by regarding the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Latin texts as three separate redactions of an original Order, rather than as three versions of 'what is essentially one and the same document'. (Bishop Wordsworth (*Ministry of Grace*, p. 26) similarly speaks of the Verona fragments as *later* than the two Egyptian books.) But in two respects Bishop Maclean advanced upon previous discussions by English writers. (1) He maintained that the Canons of Hippolytus cannot be the original of this group of Orders, on the ground that there is such a large amount of material in it which does not appear in any other Church Order, and he assigned to it a date not before the earlier half of the fourth century. (2) He gave fuller weight to the evidence of Eg CO, though, as we have seen, he regarded the different texts of that Order as separate redactions. He adhered, however, to Bishop Wordsworth's theory of a 'lost Church Order', 'possibly the work of Hippolytus', and regarded this as the ultimate basis of all these Orders (pp. 142 f). One of the grounds which he alleged for postulating a 'lost Original' was that these Orders 'contain obscure and confused passages which it is impossible to understand completely, and which could not with any probability be held to be original in any of the manuals' (p. 144), and he adduces as examples the passage on the communion of the newly-baptized in Eg CO (Ethiopic and Latin) and Test, and that on the honorary presbyterate of confessors (on the former of these see Connolly, pp. 83 f). His conclusion was that the relationship of these Orders to one another is indirect, and that they are connected as 'cousins' rather than as 'parents and children' (p. 147), though he admitted that the authors of AC viii and Test had before them, certainly in some portions of their work, a document like Eg CO in one or other of its versions, and in his table of the contents of the Orders he adopted the arrangement of Eg CO as being 'most in accordance with that of the other manuals', and pointed out that Achelis had rearranged the contents of CH on the same basis (p. 12).

Two recent contributions to the JOURNAL carry us some way further. Dr Frere, in his article 'Early Ordination Services' (*J. T. S.* April 1915,

pp. 323 f), assigns the first place in the historical evolution of this group of documents to Eg CO, which he calls CO¹, using as his authorities for the text the three versions of Horner, the Bohairic of Tattam, and the Latin of Hauler. He places the Canons of Hippolytus second, and AC viii (with the 'Constitutiones per Hippolytum') and Test in the third and fourth rank. He agrees, however, with Wordsworth and Maclean in postulating a 'lost Church Order' as the original source, and with the latter in his remark 'it is quite possible that . . . no one of the existing documents is derived directly from any other' (p. 369). Lastly, Mr C. H. Turner in the JOURNAL for July 1915 (p. 542) maintains the secondary character of the Canons of Hippolytus—'a version of a version', 'certainly not earlier than the fourth century in their substance'. 'They represent Hippolytus at one stage at least further from the original than the Latin and Ethiopic, which are independent renderings of the same third-century original.' Mr Turner expresses his own opinion that this original work is 'traceable to Hippolytus', but whether this is so or not, it was certainly written in Greek and at some time within the third century.

In this latest work in *Texts and Studies* Dom Connolly provides at once the complement and the corrective to these recent discussions. I believe that when his whole presentation of his case is considered it will be found to provide the long-sought-for solution of this vexed question of the history of the Church Orders. He tells us that, though working independently on his own lines, he has since found that, in all essential points, his conclusions had already been anticipated by E. Schwartz of Strassburg in his tract *Ueber die pseudapostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (Strassburg 1910). But the case, which Schwartz had indicated only briefly and, in the main, without detailed statement of the evidence, is in this latest work set forth in full detail and with a clear synopsis of the evidence. What these conclusions are Dom Connolly has himself indicated in outline in the JOURNAL for October 1916 (pp. 55 f). The theory of a 'lost Church Order' is rejected. Justice is done alike to the contributions of Achelis and of Funk, while the most disputable elements in their treatment—on the one hand, the claim for the high antiquity and priority of CH, and on the other, the claim that AC viii represents the starting-point in the historical evolution of this group of Church Orders—are disposed of. Two sets of conclusions, which have in the past been regarded as mutually exclusive, are combined. The view of Achelis that AC viii and Test are derived from Eg CO is accepted, along with the view of Funk that CH is derived from Eg CO, and that the so-called 'Canones per Hippolytum' (the 'Epitome' of Funk) are an excerpt from AC viii, though not, as Achelis maintained, an excerpt from an earlier draft of

that book. The result is that Eg CO is recognized as the direct source of AC viii, Test, and CH, and the ultimate source of Ep.

So far Dom Connolly arrives independently at the same results as Schwartz with regard to the relations of these five Church Orders. In chapter iii he discusses the question how the name of Hippolytus came to be attached to Ep and CH. He points out (p. 135) that the title 'Constitutiones per Hippolytum' given by modern writers to Ep is incorrect, as in the Greek MSS only the second of the five parts into which it is divided is entitled *Διατάξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἰππολύτου*, and that neither AC viii nor Ep in the opening section *περὶ χαρισμάτων* claims Hippolytus as author. The name of Hippolytus, on the other hand, is brought in just at the point where Ep begins to run parallel to Eg CO (the ordination of a bishop), and where the author has substituted for the matter found in AC viii the more original form of the bishop's ordination prayer found in Eg CO. (A similar substitution occurs in the passage on the appointment of the reader.) Dom Connolly's conclusion, for which he can claim the support of Achelis, Funk, and Bardenhewer, is that the name of Hippolytus originally occurred in the title of Eg CO, and he finds justification for this opinion in the language of the preface of that work, now recovered since the publication of Hauler's Latin text, and since found misplaced in the Ethiopic text (Connolly, p. 141). That preface, after referring to a preceding book 'de donationibus', describes the work to which it introduces the reader as a treatise on 'traditions' ('producti ad verticem *traditionis*, quae catecizant, ad ecclesias perreximus, ut ii . . . *traditionem* exponentibus nobis custodiant'), and similarly the last words of the Latin of Hauler are: 'universis enim audientibus apostolicam tra(ditionem).' We thus find mentioned at the beginning and end of Eg CO 'the exact titles of the two works of Hippolytus found together in the ancient catalogue' on the statue of Hippolytus, i.e. the two treatises *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and *ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*. With regard to the former of these, Dom Connolly refuses to see in the section on *charismata*, with which both AC viii and Ep begin, any connexion with the original source of this whole group of documents, or any 'survival' of a lost Church Order, or, on the other hand, any connexion with the lost work of Hippolytus bearing that name. It is, in his view, a free composition of the AC compiler, suggested to him by the mention of a treatise *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in the preface of Eg CO which he had before him. That preface, in fact, Dom Connolly contends, claims for the treatise which it introduces that it *is* the *ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* of Hippolytus. In an appendix (pp. 160 f) some of the more striking parallels between the language and conceptions found in Eg CO and those of the writings of Hippolytus

are adduced in support of the above identification. Similarly the compiler of CH, on this theory, took over the name of Hippolytus direct from the title of Eg CO, though he altered the title in other ways, and omitted the preface. In this conclusion too, so Dom Connolly informs us, he has been anticipated by Schwartz, although the way had been prepared for it by Achelis when he contended that CH was really the *ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* of Hippolytus (p. 148).

Of the method of Dom Connolly's work I cannot speak too highly. His book is closely reasoned and at times difficult to read, because of the intricacy of the problems involved, though there is no real obscurity of thought or language, and the argument moves steadily forward. On questions of exegesis and textual criticism his judgement seems to me sound and penetrating, and his analysis of the problems connected with the original text which lies behind the various versions of Eg CO is particularly helpful. In this connexion attention may be directed to his remarks on p. 5: 'The Ethiopic, while representing a good textual tradition, suffers much from obscurity contracted, largely, in the course of successive translations. In any attempt to recover the exact meaning of the original Greek the Latin, which has the appearance of being a very literal version, may be regarded generally as the most useful help, provided that the Ethiopic be in substantial agreement. A special virtue of the Coptic is that it often uses Greek words, many of which are no doubt preserved from the original.' Full use is made also of the collations at the end of Mr Horner's volume in reconstructing the original text.

To the student of Christian worship and beliefs one of the most interesting chapters is chapter ii, in which Dom Connolly discusses the relations of Eg CO and CH. By a careful comparison of selected passages he shews that CH exhibits a late and unskilful redaction of earlier material, and that in the process many early conceptions and primitive customs, which were strange to a later age, have disappeared. The 'obscurity' which the compilers of the later Church Orders found in passages of Eg CO is equally felt by many modern scholars, and not infrequently it proves to them 'an occasion of falling', leading to hasty assumptions that such passages are corrupt or wanting in originality. On this subject Dom Connolly makes the very pertinent remark: 'Is not this [obscurity] a necessary consequence of the fact that . . . we are moving in a cycle of thought that is wholly unfamiliar to us?' It is the merit of this chapter that in it Dom Connolly has unearthed not a few of these unfamiliar conceptions and practices, hitherto unnoticed or glossed over, which lie hidden in Eg CO. In so doing he has thrown into relief the extraordinary interest and value of this document for the reconstruction of 'the worship and regulated working' of an early

Christian Church. As he says, 'it is unique in the first three centuries' and supplements the Didascalia, 'unique on its side as a presentment of the religious life and ideas of an early Christian community' (p. 149). Readers of this deeply interesting chapter will concur in the author's wish to see produced at some future date an adequate edition of this important and precious document of early Christianity.

• J. H. SRAWLEY.

The Ministry in the Church in relation to Prophecy and Spiritual Gifts.

By H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A., D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1916.)

THE purpose of this book is to examine afresh the theory to which the discovery of the *Didache* gave rise some thirty years ago, that the primitive ministry was twofold, 'charismatic' and itinerant, regular and local. In approaching his subject Dr Wotherspoon, as the preface tells us, 'had taken for granted the genuineness of the *Didache*', which he supposed 'to have issued from some semi-Ebionite eddy lying out of the main currents of Church life'. But, as the result of his investigations, he now holds that the picture of early Church life presented by the *Didache* is untrustworthy, and that no separate charismatic ministry existed in the primitive Church.

Following a suggestion made by Dr Bigg, our author maintains that the *Teaching* had a Montanistic origin, and was a product of Phrygia. Phrygia is an agricultural and mountainous region, and Phrygian Montanism was a village cult. These local conditions appear in the *Didache*. Moreover, the persecution of Christians by Christians, foretold in the closing chapter of the book, recalls the troubles through which Montanism passed in its Phrygian home, in days when Maximilla could complain that she was 'hunted like a wolf', and when anti-Montanists were denounced by the Montanists as *προφητοφύονται* (Eus. *H. E.* v 16).

This is interesting and ingenious. But it would be more to the purpose if the author could shew that the *Didache* speaks of the prophets with the enthusiasm which a Montanist might be expected to manifest. That, however, would not be an easy task. Not only, as the Dean of Wells has pointed out (*J. T. S.* xiii p. 355), is too little said about prophets to encourage the belief that the book was written from the Montanist point of view; but the little that is said is not very appreciative; they are the chief priests of the Christian communities, and may not be criticized, yet the Churches are warned to beware of pretenders,

and the writer betrays a desire to place the local ministry on a level with the itinerants in point of honour and of official duties. It must be added that there is in the *Didache* a primitive ring which agrees better with the early years of the second century than with those that followed the rise of Montanism. Dr Wotherspoon suggests that this may be due to the writer's desire to 'clothe his work with commendatory archaisms'; but the primitive features which distinguish the *Didache* do not appear in other pseudapostolic writings, such as the Clementine Homilies, the Apostolical Constitutions, the *Testamentum Domini*; nor is it likely that a Phrygian Montanist of the second century would have possessed sufficient literary skill to employ an artifice of this kind. The Eucharistic forms of the *Didache* exhibit signs of Jewish thought and life which cannot be made to accord with the theory of a Phrygian provenance, and Dr Wotherspoon admits that these prayers are 'probably Jewish in origin'. He endeavours to escape from this dilemma by supposing c. 9 to be an interpolation; c. 8, too, with its reference to the Pharisaic fasts, has to be disposed of in like manner. The word *χριστέμπος* (c. 12), he thinks, is 'in itself enough to date the book', for this term was widely used in the fourth century. That circumstance, however, does not amount to a proof that the compound did not take its rise in the second century; the second century, as we know, used the similarly formed *χριστοφόρος*, *χριστομαθία*, and *χριστόνομος* (Ignat. *Eph.* 9, *Philad.* 8, *Rom. praef.*). It is a more serious objection to an early date that the situation described in the *Didache* finds no parallel in other Christian writings of the second century, which either make but scanty mention of the prophets of the Church or ignore their existence altogether. But there are considerations which discount much of the force of this fact. It is to be remembered that, with hardly any exception but that of Hermas, the early Christian literature proceeds from members of the regular ministry, who would be unlikely to refer to the work of the prophets; that the activities of the itinerants would be chiefly devoted to the scattered Christians of outlying country districts; and that our knowledge of the movements of the subapostolic Church is still so fragmentary that the argument *e silentio* is in this case more than ordinarily precarious.

From the *Didache* Dr Wotherspoon works back to the New Testament. He investigates the nature of the *χαρίσματα* there described, the Apostolic conception of 'ministry', and the question whether the Apostolic writings recognize a charismatic hierarchy, and, in particular, an order of prophets. He finds that the New Testament has more to say about prophecy than about prophets, and draws the inference that it affirms the principle of spiritual illumination rather than the existence of a prophetic order which was the special organ of the illuminating

Spirit. When in 1 Cor. xii 28 and Eph. iv 11 St Paul places prophets after apostles in a descending scale of ministries, he may be using the concrete for the abstract, and thinking of 'prophecy' though he writes 'prophets'. The prophets who fill so prominent a place in the Apocalypse of St John, are explained as belonging to the imagery of the book; they are no more historical persons than are the Apocalyptic elders (iv 4, 14); if the elders of the heavenly vision are 'representative of the economies', the Apocalyptic prophets symbolize 'the idea of ministry'. But this is to overlook the fact that the Apocalypse is largely historical, and that the prophets are named, not in the visions, but in the historical framework of the book.

Dr Wotherspoon is too eager an advocate to give full weight to arguments which may be urged on the other side. But though for this reason he may fail to convince, his book contains many excellent things, and will repay careful study. Its value lies partly in an exhaustive collection of the relevant facts, partly also in the freshness and insight of not a few of his observations. It may be sufficient to mention as examples his remarks upon 'the subsidence of supernatural demonstrations in the Church' (pp. 94 ff); the nature of prophetic illumination (pp. 137 ff); the relation of Christian prophecy to the writings of the New Testament (p. 189). Readers who believe that the *Didache* represents an actual stage in the history of the ministry, and that the prophets formed a class scarcely less distinct than the Apostolate, will nevertheless find little to dissent from in the writer's conclusion that 'the Church, as founded upon the Apostolate, is both charismatic and institutional'; that her regular ministry is not without its own *χάρισμα*; that even the gift of prophecy is not extinct, but so far as it consists in spiritual illumination must, as the anti-Montanist Miltiades declared, 'abide in the whole Church until the final coming of the Lord'.

Reconciliation between God and Man. By W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON, D.D.
(S.P.C.K. 1916.)

THIS is a clear and succinct manual of a great subject by a theologian who knows his ground, and imparts his knowledge in a form which the non-theological reader can appreciate. Difficulties are frankly stated, and for the most part receive solutions as satisfactory as the nature of the subject and the space at the author's disposal permit. Popular errors are exposed; such, for example, as the insistence on a divine *χρηστότης* which leaves no place for the divine *ἀποτομία*; or the pressing of St John's *τετέλεισται* so far as to exclude the continuous propitiation which the same writer connects with the life of the ascended Christ.

A chapter is given to the consideration of objections advanced by recent Jewish writers against the Christian doctrine of mediation.

Dr Sparrow-Simpson discusses at some length the 'principle of reparation' implied in the Atonement. The reparation of the Cross consisted, he believes, in 'a perfect sorrow for the sin of the world': but he appears to avoid, wisely as it seems to me, the use of the words 'penitence' or 'penitent' in connexion with our Lord's sacrifice.

A few things in the book may provoke criticism; we may wish, for instance, that a treatise on *Reconciliation between God and Man* had not culminated in a section on the Eucharistic offering, as its 'final theme'—a position which surely belongs to the work of the High Priest in Heaven rather than to even the greatest of Sacraments. But the work as a whole is at once sane and devout, and will commend itself to Christian students of divergent schools.

Two apparent errors of the press may be pointed out: for 'argue' (p. 3, line 8) should probably be read 'agree', and for 'service' (p. 147, line 4) 'session'.

H. B. SWETE.

The Divine Aspect of History, by J. RICKARDS MOZLEY. (Cambridge University Press, 1916.)

WHENEVER we seek to trace the workings of God in history, we are apt to turn first to the story of religion. We concentrate attention on whatever is lofty in thought and teaching, and consider carefully the actual influence of religion on social life and progress. Perhaps this is too narrow a view. If history has a divine aspect, we shall require for its discovery not only a survey of the growth of faith, but also an examination of the way in which all things work together for good, at least for them that love God. The complete philosophy of history which is to form the full apologetic of Christianity must embrace more than an estimate of distinctly religious forces. Yet the core of any such philosophy must after all be concerned primarily with religion itself. We may hope to see God in history in the larger sense, but, should we fail to find Him in religious experience, this larger hope would scarcely merit even a faint trust.

For the most part Mr Mozley's volumes are concerned with the divine aspect of history in the narrower sense. The opening chapter does indeed deal with the relation of man to the Universe, and claims that essentially the same power of organization and of progressive enrichment may be discerned in the evolution of the outside world as

in the developement of man especially on the religious side. The whole work is dedicated to 'the belief that a spiritual force issues from God whereby life is made dominant over material forces'. From time to time Mr Mozley adverts to the extraneous forces which have influenced the religious history of mankind. But it is with that religious history itself, as the leading factor in all history, that the work is primarily concerned. The first volume is almost equally divided between the religion of Israel and the religions of the ancient world and the Far East, while the second relates the story of Christianity, including the conflict with Islam.

All such comprehensive surveys are liable to obvious criticisms. The writers cannot hope to be equally at home over the whole field. They must often rely on the judgements of others and they will not satisfy all the experts. They include perforce much that is familiar, and much also that is disputed. Moreover, if the writer descends to detail, it is difficult to keep a true sense of proportion, and main threads may be obscured. If, on the other hand, he shuns detail, his judgements are apt to appear arbitrary and unconvincing. Yet it is clearly right that such surveys should be attempted. Not only is it desirable to get a view of the whole range of religious belief, but such a view when it is presented by a writer of insight is bound by its emphasis and selective character to contribute to our appreciation of religious values, even when it adds little to our stock of historical information.

Naturally enough, Mr Mozley has not succeeded in escaping all the defects with which such undertakings as his are apt to be associated. It would not be difficult to specify points where the treatment is inadequate or misleading. Yet as a survey of literature and problems, the work has real interest and charm. It resembles a prolonged and leisurely conversation with an accomplished scholar in a well-filled library. And it has the personal quality of a conversation. Its special interest, however, lies not in the fact that it is the fruit of much reading, but rather in the fact that it represents the mature judgement of a long life. The brief autobiographical note that Mr Mozley adds to the second volume really gives the key to the permanent value of the whole work.

When Mr Mozley was resident in Cambridge in the sixties, the question of Biblical miracles was continually before his mind. He once said to Henry Bradshaw, 'There are many miracles with which I could dispense without any demur: but if the miracles of the Exodus are untrue, I do not know where I am.' This wrestling with the problem of the miraculous profoundly influenced the whole of Mr Mozley's thinking. The problem no longer presses upon us in the same way, perhaps in part because we do not face it so frankly. But the experience and

judgement of those who fought their way through the problem have abiding worth for us. In Mr Mozley's work, his moral and religious criticism of miracle is more significant than his handling of the historical evidence. He detects, for example, a connexion between the belief in miracle and narrow intolerance. He holds with some reason that the excessive legalism of the Jews was bound up with their belief in the miracles recorded in the Pentateuch. 'The prophets could produce no miracles in favour of a broad and liberal temperament equal to those which the law appeared to record as inculcating narrowness: and therefore narrowness triumphed.' The inability of the Jews to recognize Jesus as the Christ may be traced to the same cause. 'That Jesus had ever worked signs equivalent to the Sinaitic miracles, they did not believe: and hence they rejected him.' The Christian Church has often shown traces of its Jewish origin in similar attitudes of mind. With the belief in the miraculous are associated millennial hopes and material conceptions of eternal life. The claim to infallibility and the intolerance that springs from the claim have likewise something to do with the Jewish demand for signs.

In tracing this link between intolerance and obscurantism on the one hand and belief in the miraculous on the other, Mr Mozley has much that is weighty to say. The justice of what he says was probably borne out by the orthodoxy of his own undergraduate days. But in some directions Mr Mozley seems to attribute too much influence to this particular belief. Thus he says that 'the frequent impression among many of this modern age, that Simon Peter was a commonplace person, is due entirely to the belief in miracles'. The argument is that we do less than justice to Peter's insight, because we assume that miracle made faith easy for him. Surely at this point Mr Mozley sees the influence of faith in miracles where it cannot fairly be assumed to be operative. In another and much more fundamental issue, he seems to overestimate the part played by this belief. The Nicene Creed points to 'an infinite difference, as to origin and character, between Jesus Christ and ourselves'. This view, according to Mr Mozley, is made to rest on miracle, especially in the Fourth Gospel. This gospel 'distinctly bases the belief in Jesus as the Messiah on his miracle-working power'. This is especially clear in the narrative of the raising of Lazarus. 'Jesus distinctly appeals to this miracle as a credential.' 'If we accept the gospel miracles as they stand, they must be held to have been worked as credentials of the divinity of Jesus: and by divinity we must mean that infinite difference from ordinary humanity which the Nicene Creed affirms to be true of him.' 'The miracles, as they stand in the gospels, are the true and proper support of the Nicene Creed, and without them it would not be believed at all.'

Here it may fairly be claimed that Mr Mozley's preoccupation with miracle carries him too far. Even in the fourth gospel where the miraculous element seems to be deliberately heightened, the appeal to miracles as credentials is neither primary nor exclusive. Indeed, the evangelist rather depreciates a faith based on miracles. It is a rebuke to Jewish cravings when Jesus says 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe'. The creed is made to rest not so much on the miracles as on the words of eternal life which Jesus has. The miracles themselves are chosen to illustrate the wonders of the new beginnings which Jesus grants to the souls of men. It is quite possible to share Mr Mozley's view of the gospel-miracles, to reject, with him, the raising of Lazarus, and yet to believe as the fourth gospel does, that the influence of Jesus in human experience is such as to warrant the kind of estimate enshrined in the Nicene Creed. Many readers will see a confirmation of the essential truth of the creed in Mr Mozley's own discovery of the helpfulness of prayer to Jesus Christ.

This reference to prayer is of further interest, because a valuable feature of the book is its insistence on the importance of personal prayer to religion. 'The object of the present treatise will be . . . to shew that the animating and controlling power of God is a necessity for mankind, and that prayer is the natural intercourse between man and God. I do not speak from mere theory: had I not been saved by it myself, I would not have recommended it to others.' Prayer is all-important for bringing harmony into the relations of men with each other. His firm hold on the essential place of prayer in human life leads Mr Mozley to what seems to be a penetrating criticism of the Idealist reaction in Germany against the sceptical movement of the eighteenth century. 'It is, I believe, through their failure to realize the power of prayer and the manner in which instinctive prayer acts, that the candid and laborious German thinkers of the last century and a half have failed to solve the problem which the Christian religion presents to us. . . . I cannot believe that either Lessing or Schiller or Goethe had the instinct of prayer in its full and formative power. . . . The illustrious founder of German philosophy, Kant, who saw clearly that our moral nature demands assumptions which can only be verified by practical action, and not by any argument or observation antecedent to practical action, was not, to the best of my belief, cognizant of the way in which direct intercourse between man and God affects our well-being and our capacities.' Mr Mozley goes on to assert that the same is true of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. None of these philosophers took into account the way in which prayer strengthens a man's inner being. This criticism is worth pondering, and it does not apply to German idealists only.

It is natural to compare Mr Mozley's work with Baron Bunsen's *God in History*. In range and in many characteristics the two works are extraordinarily parallel. The differences would afford some measure of the progress of research in many fields, between 1870 and 1910. We must be content here to dwell on one point only, a point of contrast. The forecasts of the future to which each book leads up are curiously different. Baron Bunsen's outlook was apocalyptic. He foresaw the coming of judgement. He looked forward to a world-crisis, which should shake society to its foundations. 'A time will come, when an absolute government in the State will be held on religious and moral grounds to be a régime no less monstrous than a system of slavery.' 'There must further come a time when the levying of war will be regarded as a relic of barbarism, no less unreasonable than immoral, and consequently an incitement thereto will be held a common crime committed against all.' Bunsen held that an awful retribution would come upon the statesmen that would not even 'take the first honest step towards such a state of things, by forming a Peace league between all moral and pious nations and upright governments'. His anticipations of judgement have been abundantly fulfilled, and in ways he looked not for. Mr Mozley's forecast, written in the midst of catastrophe, is calmer. He touches on the great problems, social, political, and religious, that lie before us, and sees them yielding to the stream of Divine influence that has made history. Like Baron Bunsen, Mr Mozley is full of hope, but he looks for steadier progress than Baron Bunsen expected. His survey of the past resembles the raising of an Ebenezer. A man who can raise Ebenezers at the present time is entitled to gratitude.

H. G. Wood.

The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament, by the REV. J. Y. BATLEY, M.A., Assistant Master of St John's School, Leatherhead. (Deighton, Bell, & Co., Limited, Cambridge: G. Bell & Sons, Limited, London, 1916.)

FOR several reasons the existence of suffering was far more disquieting and far more difficult to understand in Old Testament days than it is to us to-day. For one thing, there was the peculiar belief almost universal in the ancient world about the life after death; the same miserable fate, it was thought, awaited both good and bad alike; if men were to enjoy their lives, it must be done here on earth, for in Sheol men were but pale and unhappy ghosts far from the pleasant light of day and far from the presence of God. If then a man met with some great misfortune which destroyed all chance of happiness, the

question at once arose, why did God permit this? A God to them did not mean some far-off vaguely conceived abstraction, but a Living Person who took the closest interest in the affairs and fortunes of men. Obviously, suffering indicates God's anger, God's punishment for sin. So thought the multitude. But the facts could not always be squared with this theory. The good and those who sincerely tried to serve God were by no means exempt from suffering. Popular tradition replied that in these cases the righteous were righteous in appearance only, in reality they were guilty of secret sin. But there were other spirits who would not be content with this popular answer. Their searchings of heart, their trials of faith, their bitternesses of soul and the more enlightened, if still imperfect, solutions of the problem at which they arrived, are well worked out in Mr Batley's book.

The deep and widespread suffering of the present moment adds a keen and poignant interest to this book, for it brings out one great lesson of the Old Testament, that true Religion requires us to serve God for His own sake in spite of trouble and anguish and without hope of reward.

The Witness of the Church, by SAMUEL HART, Dean of Berkeley Divinity School. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1916.)

THIS book contains the Paddock Lectures for 1915-1916 delivered in the General Theological Seminary, New York. In writing this book Dr Hart has put aside all his notes and references—the Bible is the only book he quotes—and speaks his own mature views out of the fullness of a well-stored mind. A wide field is covered, the preparation for the Church, its origin, its place in the divine plan, its ministry, its sacramental life, its work, its relation to the State, its future; the last subject being treated mainly from the American point of view. It is an excellent summary, written in a non-controversial spirit, of the Catholic position rather than a fresh contribution to the study of a difficult problem in theology.

Introduction à l'Étude du Merveilleux et du Miracle, par JOSEPH DE TONQUÉDEC. (Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris, 1916.)

As the author says in his Preface, this book is not for the critical and trained theologian, but for those believers who feel some distress about the present position of the controversy on miracles. The apologetic aim is evident throughout the work. M. de Tonquédec's eagerness to bring relief causes him to write in the spirit of an advocate. He is often ingenious and sometimes over-positive. While there is much that is well and pointedly put, one can hardly think that the book will

succeed in influencing opinion which is hostile to the occurrence of miracles. M. Bergson, for instance, can hardly be disposed of as easily as M. de Tonquédec appears to think. If he should reach a second edition, the author would do well to note that Mr R. J. Campbell is now in Priest's Orders in the Church of England, and that *The New Theology* was withdrawn from circulation some years ago.

HAROLD HAMILTON.

Group Theories of Religion and the Religion of the Individual, by
CLEMENT C. J. WEBB, M.A. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.,
London, 1916.)

THIS book is the Wilde Lecture in the University of Oxford for 1914. It reviews the social theory of religion, especially as expounded by M. Lévy-Brühl and M. Durckheim. The work was eminently needing to be done, and exposition and criticism are here done admirably, both in spirit and in substance. As the theory is based on 'collective representations', Mr Webb justly asks how it works at the stage where 'the opposition between the claims of society and of the individual has emerged into consciousness as a conflict of rights'. The exposition is so clear and fair that a very adequate conception of the general position of this school can be gathered from the book; and the criticism, while equally fair, is almost always convincing. Upon two points, however, some further consideration might seem to be required. The first concerns M. Lévy-Brühl's theory of a pre-logical mentality. As set forth by that writer, it is doubtless a baseless assumption; but, on the other hand, is not the common English view of the savage, as a rather imperfectly and peculiarly educated eighteenth-century philosopher, still farther astray? As used by Robertson Smith, the assumption of an identical mentality illumined the situation, but, as used for example by Mr Jevons, it surely requires some reconsideration. The other point concerns M. Durckheim's theory. Mr Webb considers that it ascribes more reality to religion than can be found in the views of the other members of the school. If that means reality as a mental phenomenon, having remarkable and far-reaching effects upon the whole development of reason, the opinion is unquestionable. But if the question concerns the objective value of religion, the result is far from being equally certain. The effect upon the present reviewer's mind of M. Durckheim's insistence upon the great place of religion in creating reason is not to extend reality to religion but to extend scepticism to reason.

Nature, Miracle, and Sin: a study of St Augustine's Conception of the Natural Order, by T. A. LACEY, M.A., being the Pringle Stuart Lecture for 1914. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1916.)

MANY books have been written on Augustine, but there is almost always room for a good book on any subject: and this takes its place among the best. There is sympathy with the subject, without blindness to Augustine's faults; there is a readiness to interpret him as far as possible to the advantage of his consistency, and great care not to decide his real views merely by phrases, without trying to prove that the mixture of Platonism and Christianity was ever brought to real coherence. To expound in systematic form the thought of a writer, in whom the rhetorician always dominates the thinker, is no easy task, but, with great self-restraint, Mr Lacey succeeds in being clear and consecutive, and—considering the discursiveness of the subject—compact and even condensed.

The book is not a discussion of Augustine's views generally, but only of his conception of Nature and Human Nature. With respect to Nature, the essence of his contention is that God and the works of God are in one continuous order, so that Nature can include any quantity of what we call the supernatural or the miraculous. In an appendix Mr Lacey, in his own person, argues for a similar view, in a way that seems to expose him, on the one hand, to Huxley's contention that everything we may hope will some day succumb to physical science, and, on the other, to Hume's, that as anything might happen in any way, and the supernatural is merely the unusual, we could not prove it even if it did exist, as our only guide is the customary.

With regard to Augustine's views of Human Nature Mr Lacey does not get much farther than his predecessors. There still remains the confusion between Neoplatonism with its conception of evil as nothing, and Christianity with its conception of evil as positive transgression; between individual responsibility and concupiscence as the source of original sin; and between the power not to sin as the true dignity of human nature, and the not having power to sin, because God's might has replaced freedom as the security of eternal blessedness. Yet, throughout, by keeping the discussion in close touch with reality, Mr Lacey manages to sustain the interest of the reader in Augustine's search after truth.

The book closes with a discussion on Dr McTaggart's Idealism (which is less irrelevant than the title might suggest), the conclusion of which is that the mythology of the first chapter of Genesis holds together better than that which Dr McTaggart designs, namely his necessitarian republic of souls.

Essays in Orthodoxy, by OLIVER CHASE QUICK. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1916.)

THIS is as clear and reasonable and persuasive a presentation of orthodox Christianity as perhaps our language affords. As we should all be sympathetic with the desire that, before we reject, we should make sure that we understand, even those who differ materially from the writer will be grateful readers of his book. Much to agree with also they will find, and especially they will be in accord with the desire to see in the future much more earnest thought about religious truth and a much better equipment for the investigation, especially on the part of professional teachers of Christianity. The text of the whole is the passage in Jeremiah which is interpreted as an exhortation to seek the good way only in the old paths. As many interpret that passage differently, as an exhortation to stop and reflect and learn the lesson of the past, as much for warning as for copying, and to ask only the one question, Where is the good way? so many will be left at the end as they were at the beginning with that same difference of attitude towards life. No one who has ever faced the real problems of historical criticism will be satisfied with the few slighting remarks with which it is dismissed. When face to face with a subject of inquiry, it is not pride, but the truest humility, to state exactly what it seems to say, and to ignore all deference to human opinion. Does not the tendency to confuse freedom of thought with mere individual anarchy really mean that faith is a mere human convention only to be maintained by human agreements? In other departments freedom of thought is the sole means of agreement, because the source of unity is the witness of the reality to itself. What, moreover, is this Church authority? Is there a special body of persons who exercise it, or are we merely being exhorted to remember that we can understand nothing in isolation? Nor can historical questions be settled quite so easily on dogmatic grounds, especially if the dogmatic grounds are conflicting, as when St Paul and apparently St John make no use of the Virgin birth as the ground of the uniqueness of Christ. But even the most sympathetic will at times have questions to ask. When it is said that the incarnation is 'God explaining Himself in human terms to the limit of man's capacity to receive Him', is the author thinking about a religious knowledge of God? for how can there be a higher manifestation of the Father than in His children? Is the perfect Sonship merely the least God can do in the circumstances? In maintaining the view that Jesus manifests the omnipotent as well as the ethical attributes of God, only He does not use them, though He has His power always at hand as the schoolmaster his knowledge, are we really left with a human life, and is the crucifixion, for example,

a real human agony? Why, if the doctrine of the Trinity is clothed in the philosophical technicalities of a bygone age, should restatement be impossible? One would rather imagine that was a reason for supposing it both possible and necessary. But the least satisfactory section is the ethical. Is it the orthodox view that faith saves because God takes promise for performance? At least it raises the question, Which orthodoxy? Would even the most passive pacifist feel his withers wrung by the argument against his position? And if those who regard Jesus as merely the first and greatest of the sons of God bring Him too near, the view here advocated surely puts Him too far from our lives. Finally, the view of sanctification as the measure and end of all our striving turns our gaze within when we were promised that it would be without; and as an explanation of conscience what is it but the theory that the end of life is to build as 'high as may be the pyramid of our individuality', which is neither good morals, nor good orthodoxy, nor good religion?

J. OMAN.

The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell, by FATHER J. HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J. (Longmans, London, 1916.)

THIS book is a reprint of articles from the *Month*, which may be read with much profit by those who know Mr Graves Law's *Jesuits and Seculars in England under Elizabeth*. The older work is not displaced, and the later suffers from its manner of composition and also, it must be said, from the author's consideration for the sentiments of the readers of his magazine. The truth about Father Weston, the imager of Flibbertigibbett and the most grotesque figure in the history of English religion, is hidden under edifying commonplaces; even though Father Pollen may plead that the earlier activities of the exorcist did not affect his later controversies, still we cannot know the man unless his whole personality is set before us, and it would have helped us to understand Weston's failure to deal with real difficulties at Wisbech if we had been reminded that he had dwelt by choice in a world of unrealities. And when Father Pollen tells us that the papacy of the Elizabethan period had always been 'conspicuous for its mildness and gentleness', we reflect that the feeling may have existed, but it was scarcely conspicuous. But the author's narrative is studiously impartial as between the combatants; he recognizes the faults of Parsons and the weakness of Blackwell in government, and can find something to say in extenuation of the English clergy of his Church who looked to France and not to Spain for help. Yet his own sympathies are Spanish, and in his repugnance for the Elizabethan system he is unjust to those Roman Catholics

who sought to establish a *modus vivendi*, and to Bancroft, who met them half way. He does not recognize that if the members of his communion had been obdurate in disloyalty to the government which the nation had accepted, they would have disappeared from England as utterly as from Scandinavia. The story suffers a little from an excess of subjectivity, motives being conjecturally analysed with a subtlety like that of Henry James; and the writer occasionally assumes a detailed knowledge on the part of his readers which few of them are likely to possess. On the other hand, he sometimes fails in completeness on points of importance. We never learn the relative numbers of the Jesuit and the English parties. Thirty priests joined in the appeal of 1600 to Rome against Blackwell. How many partisans had he, and how many, if any, were neutral? In a field so well worked, it ought to be possible to answer such a question. Father Pollen is silent. But he has made a real advance in connecting the somewhat sordid quarrel in England with general issues. He shews, as Graves did not, that it formed part of the great conflict between France and Spain, and he detects Gallicanism in the support given by Henry IV. We have to thank Father Pollen for an interesting and instructive book.

E. W. WATSON.

Aetatis Imperatoriae Scriptores Graeci et Latini, adnotationibus instructi, curantibus P. J. ENK et D. PLOOIJ: I. Lucianus *De Dood van Peregrinus*. Van Inleiding en Aanteekeningen voorzien door D. PLOOIJ en J. C. KOOPMAN. (G. J. A. Ruys, Utrecht, 1915.): II. *Bloemlesing uit het Pratum Spirituale van Johannes Moschus*. Van Inleiding en Aanteekeningen voorzien door D. C. HESSELING. (G. J. A. Ruys, Utrecht, 1916.)

ENGLAND is apparently not the only country in which the Humanities are being called upon to defend their claim to be an indispensable element in any complete scheme of educational reconstruction. A pamphlet entitled *De Literatuur uit den Romeinschen Keizertijd op onze Gymnasia* ('The Literature of the Roman Imperial Era in our Gymnasia') written by Dr Plooi, of the University of Leyden, one of the co-editors of the series of Greek and Latin Texts noted above, to which the pamphlet forms an introduction, seems to imply that the study of the Classics is in a worse plight in Holland than in our own country. Dr Plooi in his pamphlet has to plead not so much for the retention of the Classics as an integral basis of sound education as for the resuscitation of study of them. It is not, however, with the Classics in the familiar sense of the term, as including the great writers

of the golden ages of Greek and Roman literature, that he is concerned in the pamphlet and in the series of edited texts under review, but with the writers of the Hellenistic and Imperial period. He advocates the study of the literature of this class on the ground that, while as pure literature it is often contemptible, yet from the point of view of historical-religious research it is indispensable. While the study of the great classical writers brings us into touch with Greek thought at its best and enables us to realize what civilization in its broadest sense owes to Hellas, yet, as Dr Plooiij points out, the genius of ancient Greece is only one of the principal elements which have contributed to the formation of Modern Europe in its religious, intellectual, and social aspects. Of equal, if not of greater, importance is the influence of Christianity. In this respect, therefore, the study of the writers of the Hellenistic and Imperial period is in some ways more necessary than that of the great Classics if we are to have a correct view of the real foundations of modern thought and culture. They bring on the stage of public life the *two* broad streams of influences which have contributed most towards the creation of all that is best and noblest in the life of to-day. In the period to which the series of Texts edited by Dr Enk and Dr Plooiij belongs these two dominant ideals of the age are seen at first in conflict with each other, but with the process of time there is a gradual approach from either side until the two systems become blended to a considerable degree in the Christian philosophy of the Church Fathers of the third and succeeding centuries, and thus the Christian Church preserved for future generations much of what was best in the heritage of Greece. The series under notice is intended to stimulate and popularize the study of the classical languages and literatures in the Upper Schools and Universities of Holland, and the editors are anxious to enlist the interest and sympathy of scholars and theologians in this country on behalf of this effort. It is hoped that it may be possible to make the series international in character, and with this object in view the services of scholars outside Dutch circles are being secured.

The two volumes already published are of considerable interest and educational value, and, if the series as a whole maintains the high standard attained in these first two volumes, it will confer no slight service upon the world of historical and theological learning. The first volume contains Lucian's famous satire *The Death of Peregrinus*, with introduction, text, and notes by Dr Plooiij and Dr Koopman. The Introduction is a most capable piece of work and deals adequately with such questions as the relation of Lucian to Marcus Aurelius, his estimate of the public worship of the day as compared with Cicero's, the Cynic philosophy of the second century against which Dr Plooiij

maintains the satire to have been directed and not against Christianity as is generally thought, the relation of Cynicism to Christianity, and the very remarkable parallelism between Peregrinus and St Ignatius. The notes, which are by Dr Koopman, are very copious, and deal with all questions of grammar, history, and exegesis which arise out of the text. The second volume presents a document of an entirely different character from that contained in the first. The *Pratum Spirituale* is a collection of religious and ecclesiastical anecdotes, the work of Joh. Moschus, who was originally the inmate of a monastery at Jerusalem, but afterwards travelled widely in Egypt and elsewhere, visiting the monasteries of Egypt, Syria, and the Greek islands, and eventually died in Rome towards the end of the sixth century. He was a kind of ecclesiastical and monastic Herodotus, and his information concerning the condition of monasticism in that age is trustworthy where he is relating his own actual experiences. The work, which has apparently never been edited before, is a *Historia Lausiaca* of a simple and early type, and its value consists chiefly in the light it throws upon the ecclesiastical Greek of the period. Dr Hesseling who, like Dr Plooij, is a teacher at the University of Leyden, has contributed an interesting Introduction, the most valuable feature of which is an admirable discussion of the *Kouή*, which is fully illustrated by the linguistic peculiarities of the document in question. He is familiar with the work of our foremost authorities on the subject, as, for example, Moulton and Milligan's *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. The notes are particularly full, more especially on the grammatical and philological side.

Among the works to be included in forthcoming volumes of the series are a selection of the Moral Epistles of Seneca, Tatian's *Apology*, Plotinus's *Treatise against Gnostics*, and some of Philo's writings.

MAURICE JONES.

Novum Testamentum Graece, textui a retractatoribus Anglis adhibito brevem adnotationem criticam subiecit ALEXANDER SOUTER. (Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano.)

ALL students of the text of the New Testament will be grateful to Professor Souter for this book. To younger students especially it is a great boon to be able to procure at a very low price an edition of the Greek Testament which gives the authorities for a large number of various readings, and which will afford the practice in reading critical notes necessary to enable them to refer with ease to editions such as

that of Tischendorf which contain a more complete critical apparatus. In a book of this size it is of course only possible to deal with a selected number of variations, and Professor Souter's selection will not please every one. But he disarms criticism on this point by his candid admission in the Preface. In some respects the critical apparatus is more complete and up to date than that in the larger editions, for Professor Souter has taken especial care in regard to the readings found in the Versions, and has included a number of collations of the texts of Latin Fathers, which have been made by himself.

Where we have so much reason to thank Professor Souter for giving us this convenient little edition, it seems ungracious to make any criticisms. But one cannot but regret that he should have elected to print as text the so-called 'Revisers' Text'. It was not part of the Revisers' work to correct the Greek orthography, and so the student is presented with all the deficiencies and mistakes of the Received Text in this respect. This makes Professor Souter's edition, which would be so convenient in many ways as a text-book, unsuitable as such to the student. And a few unaccountable slips have escaped correction. Thus in Matt. i 16 no mention is made of the remarkable reading of the Sinaitic Syriac, which is quoted as supporting the reading of the Curetonian Syriac and the Ferrar group. And it is unfortunate that the evidence should be given inexactly in two of the well-known 'conflate' readings. In Mark ix 49 the Western and Antiochene authorities are quoted as if they supported the same text, and in Mark i 13 the Antiochene authorities are not quoted at all; so that in both cases the conflate reading has disappeared from the critical apparatus.

Professor Souter has adopted a new notation for the Versions, which is very convenient for purposes of printing and occasions no difficulty. But it seems unfortunate that in a work of this kind, which must be mainly intended for younger students, he should have adopted Dr Gregory's new notation for the minuscule Greek MSS. This notation has not, I believe, been adopted by any one else, and as in all introductions to the subject the MSS are numbered in accordance with Tischendorf's method, the numbers of the few important MSS which are quoted outside the Gospels prove to be entirely unfamiliar.

But, as I have already said, it is ungracious to find fault with a book that will prove of real use, and we can only thank Professor Souter heartily for the service he has rendered to students of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.

A. V. VALENTINE-RICHARDS.

The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, edited and translated by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON. (*Horae Semiticae* No. xi; Cambridge, at the University Press, 1916.)

THIS is vol. v of Mrs Gibson's edition of Isho'dad on the N. T., and comprises the commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. Part i contains the Syriac text, and part ii the English translation. For this edition the same four MSS have been used as in the case of the commentaries on the Acts and the Catholic Epistles (*Horae Semit.* No. x). The text has been edited throughout with much care; and Mrs Gibson deserves the thanks of biblical and semitic students for the labour she has devoted to the valuable series of publications which closes with the present volume.

Mrs Gibson has been less successful with her translations, which are often faulty, notwithstanding Dr Mingana's revision of them. The following instances are taken quite at random:—

On p. 35 the words 'That we may not be greatly provoked to zeal for our Lord; lest, he says, we should instigate the Christ to zeal of love for us' should be '*Do we indeed provoke our Lord to jealousy?*' (1 Cor. x 22): Do we, he says, make use of (idol) sacrifices to the end that we may excite Christ to a jealous love for us, as though?' &c. And a little further on 'and how often . . .?' should be 'and sometimes . . .'. On p. 36 (*ad fin.*) 'and about this also the order of the Church hands down that He commands to celebrate the Mysteries at all times' should be 'And with this the rule of the Church also agrees (*shālem*, not *marshlem*), which commands to perform', &c. On p. 82 (*ad init.*) 'The Blessed Apostle, in one place, in Timothy, names the manhood of our Lord, God over all' should be '*Timothy*: "The blessed Apostle in a certain place names"', &c. It is a quotation from the Catholicus Timothy I, who is cited again at p. 171 (of the text).

One valuable feature of Isho'dad's commentaries is the light they occasionally throw on the history of Syriac literature. He quotes a good many native writers, and here and there enables us to correct misconceptions as to their dates. In the present work we have references to Ḥannana of Adiabene, to Narsai, Babhai the Persian, Theophilus the Persian, Isho' bar Nun, John of Nineveh, Thomas of Edessa, John of Beth Rahban, Timothy I, and Daniel bar Ṭubhanitha. Isho'dad's notice of the last-mentioned writer shews us that he is at least as early as the first half of the ninth century, whereas Assemani placed him about the end of the tenth (see Wright *Syriac Literature* p. 234).

Dr Rendel Harris again contributes an Introduction, in which he points out once more the close dependence of Isho'dad on Theodore

of Mopsuestia. He returns also to another point which he has dealt with elsewhere, viz. the identification (through Isho'dad and Theodore) of the two quotations *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν κτλ.* (Acts xvii 28) and *Κρητες ἀεὶ ψεύσται κτλ.* (Titus i 12), as coming from a single context of the *Minos* of Epimenides. The Cretans declared that Zeus had been slain by a wild boar, and shewed his tomb. This, according to the poet, is their lie: the god is alive, and in him 'we live and move', &c. Another point which Dr Harris dwells on is a note at the end of Isho'dad's comment on Romans, to this effect: 'Now Mar Kumi translated (*or* interpreted) this Epistle from Greek to Syriac, addressing (*'ak dal'wāth*) the presbyter Mari, with the help of the presbyter Daniel the Indian.' Kumi, as we know from Ebedjesu's Catalogue, was associated with Ibas and Probus in translating Theodore's commentaries into Syriac; and Mari is evidently the recipient of the famous letter from Ibas. The note therefore takes us to Edessa early in the fifth century. We may here assume with Dr Harris that it means that Kumi translated St Paul's Epistle into Syriac, and not that he wrote for Mari a Syriac commentary on a Greek text of it, or that he translated Theodore's commentary. Dr Harris finds in this note a difficulty in the way of accepting Prof. Burkitt's view (based on the authority of a contemporary writer), that it was Rabbula of Edessa who revised the Syriac translation of the N. T. and produced the Peshitta. The difficulty is 'that the Peshitta has always been the accepted version in both branches of the Syrian Church, the Jacobite and the Nestorian, and it is very hard to believe that the Nestorians would have accepted a version which came from the hand of one of their bitterest enemies'. 'This consideration', says Dr Harris, 'has never been fairly met.' Of course, if the note at the end of Romans is historical, and means what we have supposed, the statement of Rabbula's biographer will have to be understood in the somewhat wider sense that he had the revision made, and perhaps even took part in the work. As the biographer was actually a disciple of Rabbula, his statement can hardly be diluted further than this. But that, we imagine, is all Prof. Burkitt would care to contend for: the Peshitta dates from Rabbula's episcopacy, and was made at his instigation and under his eye. There does not appear to be any fresh reason for placing it either earlier or later. Rabbula was bishop of Edessa from 411 to 435; and within this period the whole revision might easily have been carried out, with the help of those 'Persian' scholars who afterwards embraced the cause of Nestorius, and have won general acceptance before the Nestorian controversy came on at all. The men of the Theodorean school who helped to prepare it would not be likely to turn against their own work a few decades later merely because Rabbula had then changed his opinions.

Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar, by THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A., B.D. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915.)

IN a prefatory note to this little book the author disclaims any intention of adding 'to the number of treatises on the Syriac language already in existence'. He aims only at providing helps for beginners. The general plan is excellent, being not unlike that of A. B. Davidson's *Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, which has rendered such good service. The staple of the book is exercises, in the form of short sentences for translation from and into Syriac. A vocabulary precedes each exercise, and at the end of the book are Syriac-English and English-Syriac glossaries. The rules of grammar are stated with brevity and usually with clearness, and the necessary paradigms are introduced as they are called for. The chief defect of the book—and it is rather a serious one—lies in the character of the Syriac sentences for translation: they are as a whole not typical; too often they are not idiomatic; and in some cases they are positively incorrect. It is a pity to accustom the beginner to confuse the meanings and use of ܐܢܝܢ and ܐܢܝܢ, of ܕܠ and ܕܠܐܢܐ, of ܕܠܐܢܐ, ܕܠܐ and ܕܠܐܢܐ. The cultivation of a true instinct in regard to such idiomatic uses is essential to an accurate knowledge of Syriac. Had the sentences for translation been gathered from standard authors they could not have contained such anomalies as ܕܠܐܢܐ ܕܠܐܢܐ (p. 16 no. 1), which is meant to be translated 'thou art the man' (see p. 14 l. 3), or ܕܠܐܢܐ ܕܠܐܢܐ ܕܠܐܢܐ, which is intended to mean (but certainly does not mean) 'the ox tore the flesh of the man with its horns'. In the latter sentence ܕܠܐܢܐ is not the right word for 'tore'; and ܕܠܐܢܐ is not the Syriac for 'an ox'—it means 'herd', 'flock', and is feminine (Nöld. *Grammar* § 84).

In spite of these and some other drawbacks, this modest little book may still serve its purpose in the hands of a competent teacher.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1916 (Vol. lxxxiii, No. 165 : Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM The National Mission : Where does the defect of the Church lie?—G. GARDNER The New Testament and prayers for the departed—H. L. GOUDGE The Apocalypse and the present age—W. Y. FAUSSET The miracles of Christ and modern scientific theory—A. C. HEADLAM The War and Religion—A. B. BROWNE The present position of Prayer Book revision—J. H. B. MASTERMAN The problem of the London city churches—The War—G. C. RICHARDS Gothic architecture—Short Notices.

January 1917 (Vol. lxxxiii, No. 166). H. F. HAMILTON The problem of the Commonwealth—A. S. WALPOLE The hymns of St Ambrose—E. G. SELWYN The Church and Unity—M. W. T. CONRAN The National Mission : a suggestion II—A. C. HEADLAM What is Catholicism?—H. GRIERSON 'Jean Barrois' : the France of yester-year—The Archbishop's Committee on Church and State—The War : a new crisis—H. J. WHITE Professor Harnack on New Testament criticism—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1916 (Vol. xv, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). J. P. BANG The root of the matter—A. S. FERGUSON More German sermons—C. F. THWING The American civil war and the present war—W. LOCK The literary method of the Fourth Gospel—J. E. CARPENTER The theology of the Rev. Stopford Brooke—C. A. MERCIER Are we happier than our forefathers?—C. MOXON The modernist revival of Anglicanism—L. B. PATON Assyria and Prussia : an historical parallel—G. DENNIS Immortal Poland—J. W. SCOTT The distrust of the intellect—H. T. HODGKIN Christian internationalism—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

January 1917 (Vol. xv, No. 2). H. BEGBIE National Training : the moral equivalent for War—E. M. CHAPMAN Enforcing Peace—J. A. HOBSON Is international government possible?—G. G. COULTON Democracy and compulsory service—H. A. L. FISHER French nationalism—BISHOP OF CARLISLE Sacramental religion—H. H. SCULLARD The originality and finality of Christian Ethics—B. W. BACON The festival of lives given for the Nation in Jewish and Christian faith—J. LINDSAY Proclus as constructive philosopher—A. C. OSLER Stumbling-blocks—C. HOLLIDAY Religious beliefs in American colleges—H. CLARK Is Liberty an adequate ideal of state action?—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 70 : Hodder & Stoughton). M. GASTER Jewish coins and Messianic tradition—H. D. A. MAJOR The tree of the knowledge of good and evil—R. A. C. MACMILLAN The religion of demonstration—T. R. GLOVER A preposition of St Paul's—H. R. MACKINTOSH 'Concerning Prayer'—R. HARRIS The origin of the prologue to St John's Gospel.

November 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 71). A. VAN HOONACKER

'And the sun stood still'—J. MOFFATT Expository notes on the Epistle to the Philippians—H. T. ANDREWS The place of the sacraments in the teaching of St Paul—R. A. C. MACMILLAN The fatherhood of God and the sonship of Jesus—W. JOHNSTONE Conditional immortality—R. HARRIS The origin of the prologue to St John's Gospel.

December 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 72). E. A. ABBOTT The Star in the East—R. HARRIS The origin of the prologue to St John's Gospel—M. JONES The Epistle to the Hebrews: a letter or a sermon?—J. A. HUTTON 'On giving the Devil his due'—J. W. DIGGLE The world and the world-spirit—W. SANDAY The poor in spirit: ancient and modern.

January 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 73). B. W. BACON The Petrine supplements of Matthew—E. A. ABBOTT The Star in the East—E. ROGERS Jewish coins and Messianic traditions—J. A. HUTTON The new 'constraint of Christ'—C. F. RUSSELL The influence of the Baptist on the mind of Jesus—A. SLOMAN The parable of the unjust steward—W. D. GARDINER The Italian origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews—W. WATSON The human and the superhuman Messiahs.

February 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 74). H. M. SEGAL Pharisees and Sadducees—D. PLOOIJ Again: the work of St Luke—R. A. C. MACMILLAN The work that Christ has done—B. W. WELLINGTON Shall we commemorate our Dead by visible monuments?—A. T. ROBERTSON Paul not a sacramentarian—G. MACKINLAY Lucan triplications—M. A. POWER The Talmud and the date of the Crucifixion—J. G. RADFORD The moral value of parabolic teaching.

March 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 75). M. JONES The significance of St Stephen in the history of the primitive Church—E. MASSINI When was Jesus Christ born?—H. R. MACKINTOSH Thoughts on Infant Baptism—G. A. COOKE The land of promise—E. F. BROWN Some considerations on the Pastoral Epistles—J. MACASKILL A transformation in Socratic criticism: the analogy applied—H. M. HAYDN 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings': a suggestion for Psalm viii 2, 3.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1916 (Vol. xx, No. 4: Chicago University Press). J. MOFFATT The influence of the War upon the religious life and thought of Great Britain—A. W. ANTHONY The new interdenominationalism—R. R. MARETT Origin and validity in Religion—C. CLEMEN Buddhistic influence in the New Testament—E. JORDAN The meaning of Charity—E. D. BURTON Spirit, Soul, and Flesh.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1916 (Vol. xiv, No. 4: Princeton University Press). W. H. JOHNSON Does my neighbour exist?—J. FOX Christian unity, Church unity, and the Panama Congress—G. JOHNSON The life and thought of Plotinus—W. M. MCPHEETERS A discipline that calls for recognition—Reviews of recent literature.

January 1917 (Vol. xv, No. 1). B. W. WARFIELD 'God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ'—G. VOS The Kyrios Christos controversy—R. D. WILSON The title 'King of Persia' in the Scriptures—Reviews of recent literature.

The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY, 1917

HENRY BARCLAY SWETE.

UPON the cross which marks the grave of Munro at Rome are inscribed the words—words of Plato, if I remember right, adapted by Thompson—

Ἀνδρὸς δὲ οὐδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖς ἀμαθέσσι θέμις.

Only a direct request, which seemed to have the force of authority, justifies me in putting together for the *Journal of Theological Studies* a few sentences in memory of the man who, more than any other man of our time, embodied in himself all that the JOURNAL stands for.

Under German influence the word *Theologian* has come to mean for us a person who interests himself in studies that bear upon religion in some direction, without necessary reference to the religious convictions or the contents of the belief of the student. Not in that sense was Dr Swete a theologian. He was a theologian in the older sense of one who has heard the charge:

‘Hold thou the truth; define it well.’

To be true to the Catholic faith, as he understood it, and to elucidate its meaning for others, was the object of all his labours. His earliest published work, now out of print, and known to me only in its Italian translation, *Paragone dottrinale tra la Chiesa Anglicana e la Chiesa Romana*, contains little of his own besides its accuracy and the lucidity of its arrangement, but it aims at guiding to right conclusions through a dispassionate comparison of authoritative documents. His last public, or semi-public, act was to take part in the session of an important Committee dealing with the *Quicumque vult*, and great was his joy at carrying his point, against some opposition, to recommend that

that document, in a revised and *re*-revised version, should be printed in the Prayer-book in its integrity, and that specified sections of it should be used on particular occasions. Perhaps into none of his books has his soul passed with more concentrated force than into his admirable little work on *The Apostles' Creed* (1894), written 'to enable educated members of the English Church who do not possess the leisure or the opportunities necessary for a fuller study of the subject to form some judgement upon a recent controversy which intimately concerns all who have been baptized into the faith of the Apostles' Creed'. The same interest led him to make his own the subject of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. As early as 1873 he published his first book on this question, to be followed by another three years later, and, between the two, he edited the treatise of Theodore Lascaris II upon it. The well-worn topic might seem to be so abstruse and remote from life as to become purely academic; but nothing that Dr Swete wrote was devoid of charm, and here he was animated by the consciousness that he was contributing towards the mutual reconciliation of the ancient Churches of Christendom, as well as touching the very heart of Christian doctrine. To him it was no arid speculation; it was vital to an intelligent faith. It was not for nothing that he prefixed to the *History of the Doctrine . . . to the death of Charlemagne* the famous words:

Per te sciamus da PATREM
noscamus atque FILIUM:
te UTRIUSQUE SPIRITUM
credamus omni tempore.

Upon the foundation thus carefully laid he added at intervals throughout his life volume after volume of a more popular kind, expounding the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, though in the preface to the latest of them (1912) he records that 'with the view of preparing for' it he had 'read again all the more important Greek and Latin patristic authorities of the first five centuries, and a few which belong to the sixth, seventh, and eighth', and had 'sought to form his impressions afresh'. He was never content to serve up again what had become to him stale and lifeless.

It might have seemed as if this devotion to Dogmatic Theology, with all the reading which it involved, would have been enough to occupy all the spare energies of a man who was constantly lecturing to large classes of students and administering the business of a great Divinity Faculty. But Dr Swete was at the same time laying himself out to do for the Old Testament in Greek something like what his predecessor and Dr Hort had done for the New. Of course nothing like the labours of Westcott and Hort were required for editing a text on the principle adopted by Dr Swete in his LXX, but no one who has used it can fail to admire the skill and judgement with which he accomplished the task of preparing what was avowedly but a precursor of the greater edition upon which Dr Brooke and Mr M^cLean have long been engaged. The Introduction, which followed the three volumes of the text, shews the hand of a master, who knows all that has yet been brought to light on matters relating to the LXX, and who handles every detail with assured ease and certainty. It is a pleasure, even to one who is not specially interested in textual criticism, to read the finished and scholarly accounts of the MSS; while the chapters of part iii, on the use of the LXX by Christian and non-Christian writers, and on the aid which it gives to Biblical students, become quite fascinating in their interest. Few disappointments were more keenly felt by Dr Swete than the failure, after years of thought and negotiation, to bring into existence a new Lexicon of LXX Greek, which Dr Nestle was to edit.

Probably the books which lay the greatest number of readers under obligation to Dr Swete are the two commentaries, on St Mark (1898), and on the Apocalypse (1906). These two books alone would have sufficed to place their author in the foremost rank of English divines. A wealth of erudition, ancient and modern, illustrates the text without overwhelming or distracting the reader. The scholarship is not merely accurate, but delicate and sensitive to every *nuance*. Nowhere is there a trace of the pedantry which indulges itself in pouring out information that no one wants. The notes, while ample, are restrained, and are always expressed in language which is lucid, well-chosen, and beautiful with a real artistic beauty. All the commentator's trained power of observation is employed to

bring out character, motive, thoughts, and ideas, with a subtilty and a sanity which make every sentence that he writes a delight to read. Above all things, every sentence might be called a lesson in reverence for the subject and for the words 'written for our learning'.

The bibliography which will be published later will shew that dogmatic theology, patristic research (of which his *Theodore of Mopsuestia* is the principal monument),¹ the Greek version of the Old Testament, the exegesis of the New, did not exhaust Dr Swete's stores of learning. He had a good working knowledge of Hebrew and of Syriac. He had a deep interest in the somewhat neglected field of liturgical studies. He found time to vindicate the Orders of the Church of England against assailants, and the rapier with which he did it was keen and polished. Perhaps the only departments of theological study into which he made no excursions were those of the philosophy of religion and of comparison between religions.

Dr Swete's achievements are not to be measured only by what he wrote, nor by what, in addition, he taught orally in lectures and sermons—lectures and sermons which were always marked by the same felicity of expression and fineness of finish as his books. He was almost as remarkable in setting others to work as in what he did himself. This JOURNAL itself is his offspring, and he wrote the words which introduced the first number of it. The conception of it was his, and the plan on which it was to be conducted was his. He felt the need of an organ for publishing shorter pieces than those of *Texts and Studies*, but of real scientific value, and proceeding from the hands of students of every school. It was he who secured the co-operation of Dr Ince, and Dr Sandy, and other Oxford and Durham theologians. Almost at the same time he founded the Central Society of Sacred Study, which has had so large a developement throughout the English-speaking world. He brought to birth, what he called a 'conception of the great 'seventies', the Patristic Texts Series. He induced Dr Srawley to set on foot his excellent series of Liturgical Handbooks. Dr M^oNeile tells us that it

¹ His capital little book on *Patristic Study* is the only one, so far as I know, which for some reason he failed to correct with his usual care. It contains a good many misprints.

was Dr Swete who induced him to undertake his edition of St Matthew. Scholars without number have gone to him for advice and found encouragement from him. Two volumes of Cambridge Essays have had him as their editor. A third volume, only partly from Cambridge, is expected to be published in a few months' time. With endless pains he organized the work which it is hoped will at last produce the *Lexicon of Ecclesiastical Greek*.

The admixture of the Irish blood with the English has often been productive of genius—in theology no less than in other pursuits. Dr Swete was an instance. With Celtic brilliancy and imagination he united the methodical ways and the disciplined perseverance of the Englishman. Bodily frailness—for several years he was unable to walk, or even to stand at the altar to celebrate, and delivered his lectures and sermons sitting—prevented him from seeking exercise, and favoured his intellectual industry. He was a wonderfully rapid worker, and could throw off in a few hours what would have cost other men—if they were capable of such work at all—days or weeks of labour. But this facility did not make him less painstaking. He would write a lecture or paper over and over again two or three times before he was satisfied with its shape. He had a great distrust of anything that looked too clever. It was difficult to get him to do justice to French writers: he thought them too ingenious and too epigrammatic. He preferred the plodding, verbose, uncouth German as a helper in his work—though his anger with the German divines since the war broke out was almost amusing in its naïveté. In himself he joined the German thoroughness with the French feeling for form.

He had of course his limitations, like other men. He had little sympathy with people who did not care for knowledge. No one could be more tenderly helpful to a learner, however ignorant and backward; but he did not understand the healthy young man who only wants to pass his examinations as easily as he can. It was a cruelty to make him a college officer, as he was once. He would say, after a delightful half-hour with a child, 'What a pity it is that a dear little boy like that should have to grow up into an uninteresting undergraduate!' Nevertheless this was but a humorous turn of phrase. He took the utmost

pains to make his lectures intelligible to men of little capacity, and delighted to describe himself as 'the Pollman's Professor'.

The most marked feature in his character was his profound humility. It was a pain to him to be in any way put forward—to put himself forward was unthinkable. He shrank from notice. He paid the utmost deference to authority. Men whose knowledge was incomparably less than his own found themselves treated as if they were more than his equals. But this does not mean that his opinions and judgements were easily changed and weakly held. Dr Swete knew his own mind, and could defend it with tenacious gentleness.

Of things still deeper this is hardly the place to speak. But no one could be with Dr Swete without becoming sensible that he lived and breathed in another world than this. The things of the Spirit were realities to him. The quietness and restraint which marked his manner were imposed upon him by the sense of the Presence in which he moved. It is a happiness to know how greatly he impressed the people of Hitchin, among whom his last days were passed. Not only the men of the Bible class which from time to time he conducted, not only the few invalids whom he used to visit, but many others besides, learned to reverence and love him. They felt his death as a loss to the whole community. They knew that they had had among them not only a great and famous scholar, but a holy man of God.

A. J. MASON.

NOTES AND STUDIES

SELAH—SOME FACTS AND A SUGGESTION.

ALL theories as to the meaning or the significance of the word SELAH, which is so common in the Psalter, are beset with difficulty owing to the extraordinary distribution of the word itself. It is found in the Masoretic text of the O. T. in seventy-one places in the Psalter and in three places in the Prayer (or Psalm) of Habakkuk (ch. iii). Within the Psalter the occurrence of the word is curiously irregular. It is found in thirty-nine Psalms only out of a hundred and fifty. It is commonly supposed to be a musical direction, but it is conspicuously absent from many Psalms, which seem specially intended to be sung in worship, e. g. xcii (see Heading), xciii, xcv–c, cxx–cxxxiv (the Songs of degrees). Similarly Ps. xxx (a ‘Song at the Dedication of the House’) contains no SELAH. On the other hand, an apparently non-liturgical Psalm (iii) of eight verses only contains SELAH thrice.

It is true that an appeal to the LXX yields a slightly different distribution. *διάψαλμα*, the regular rendering of SELAH, occurs in the following places, in which there is no corresponding Hebrew word: ii 2; [ii 6, if we be satisfied with the evidence of the O. L.]; xxxiii 11 (xxxiv 11, Heb.); xlix 15 (l 15 Heb.); lxvii 4 (lxviii 4, Heb.), *medio versu*; lxvii 14 (lxviii 14, Heb.), *ad finem*; xciii 15 (xciv 15, Heb.). To these we may possibly add lvi 3 (lvii 3, Heb.), unless it be simply a misplacement, for SELAH does occur in the MT of lvii 4 (*medio versu*); but not xxxviii 8 (Tischendorf; xxxix 8, Heb.), for the textual evidence is against it. On the other hand, in four cases in which the MT has SELAH *διάψαλμα* is absent from the LXX, i. e. at the end of Pss. iii, xxiv (xxiii), and xlvi (xlv), and again in Ps. lxxxviii 11 (lxxxvii 11, Sept.). These variations however do not affect the general truth of the statement that the unequal distribution of SELAH is a perplexing phenomenon. The result of a study of the LXX is simply to add seven more instances to the seventy-one of the MT. These must certainly be taken into consideration in any investigation of the use or meaning of SELAH, for it is more probable that so obscure a term was sometimes dropped from the MT, than that it was added to the Greek. On similar grounds the occasional absence of *διάψαλμα* from the LXX must not as a rule be allowed to cast serious doubt on the genuineness of SELAH in the corresponding passages of the MT.

In the MT SELAH fits into the general scheme of pointing and accentuation, receiving *Silluk* at the end, or *Ethnah* (or *Oleh-wě-Yored*)

in the middle of a verse (Pss. lv 20; lvii 4; Hab. iii 3, 9). From these facts we may probably conclude that the Punctators supposed that SELAH contributes to the general sense of the verse in which it occurs. The meaning assigned to the word was most probably 'for ever', for this is the rendering given by the authorities which are most closely in touch with Jewish tradition. Thus:

(1) Aquila, wherever he is cited in Greek, has *ἀεί*: St Jerome, where he quotes Aquila, gives *semper*.

(2) The Aramaic Targum (ed. Lagarde) regularly gives 'for ever' (ܠܥܠܡܝܢ).

(3) St Jerome in the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* has always *semper*, or the like.

(4) The Peshitta follows the Targum in a few places, e.g. iii 9; iv 3; xxiv 10, but in most instances leaves SELAH unnoticed. (The true text never gives *διάψαλμα* in Syriac transcription, as Lee's text has it.)

Oddly as the words 'for ever' sound at the end of some verses, we must not overlook the fact that to Jewish ears they might be used as an *Amen*, as indeed St Jerome points out (*Commentarioli*, ed. Morin, page 11). The pointing *Selāh* is perhaps intended to suggest the word *néšah*, 'for ever'; it is plainly pointing of an artificial kind.

But Jewish tradition has had little acceptance with modern scholars. The theory which holds the field to-day is that SELAH is a musical term, the precise meaning of which is uncertain. This is in fact as far as the Septuagint takes us. The Greek *διάψαλμα* does look like a term of music, and SELAH does occur in many places in which a musical change would seem appropriate to illustrate the change in thought, e.g. in xlv 4, 8. Still these considerations fall far short of a proof that SELAH is neither more nor less than a musical direction. The evidence resolves itself into a LXX rendering, which is itself of uncertain meaning, and a statement of St Jerome (*Commentarioli*, page 11), which halts between two opinions.

The modern theory of SELAH is at best a probable hypothesis. For some passages in the Psalms however it is not so much. We can judge of the appropriateness of a change in the music only from some change of thought we detect in the passage. Thus in Ps. iii 3 [2] the poet turns from the thought of his enemies to the thought of his God (v. 4 [3]), and SELAH (if it betokens a musical change) comes appropriately between vv. 3 and 4 (Heb. numeration). But there is no such transition from v. 5 [4] to v. 6 [5] of the same Psalm.

'I cried unto JEHOVAH with my voice,
'And he answered me from his holy mount.

SELAH.

‘I laid me down and slept,

‘I awaked, for JEHOVAH sustained me.’

These two verses are parallel, and the thought is continuous.

Again in the two cases which occur in Ps. lxxxviii [lxxxvii] the explanation of SELAH as a musical term seems to fail, while (as I propose to shew) the alternative explanation set forth in this note may be said to apply with exactness.

The first case is that of vv. 8, 9. Here the LXX agrees with MT.

‘Upon me thy wrath lieth hard,

‘And with all thy billows thou hast afflicted me.

SELAH.

‘Thou hast put mine acquaintance far from me,

‘Thou hast made me an abomination unto them.’

The sense is continuous, there is no break to suggest that a change in the music would be a suitable accompaniment. The passage leaves room for a different explanation of SELAH.

The second case is that of vv. 11, 12. Here LXX has no διάψαλμα to correspond with the SELAH of MT, but I suggest that the loss of so obscure a word from the Greek text throws very little doubt (if any) on the correctness of the Hebrew reading.

‘Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead?

‘Shall the shades arise and give thee thanks?’

SELAH.

‘Shall thy lovingkindness be told in the grave?

‘Or thy faithfulness in Abaddon?’

Here again (as in vv. 8, 9) there is no break in the sense to suggest that a change in the music would be a suitable accompaniment. There is in fact room in both cases for an alternative suggestion as to the significance of SELAH.

This suggestion springs from a series of observations which shew that SELAH is constantly (I had almost written ‘always’) attached to a verse which by reason of some peculiarity of text has lent itself to characteristic Masoretic or Midrashic comment. *Where SELAH occurs, there usually Masorah or Midrash has been at work.* Without denying that the word may have sometimes, perhaps often, a musical significance, I suggest that it is at other times meant for a totally different purpose.

The modern printed Hebrew Bible contains in the margin a large number of textual notes and a few comments. Some of these refer to

points and accents, and are therefore to be assigned to a period subsequent to the introduction of points and accents into the Old Testament. But other notes apply to the consonantal text, and may be of hoary antiquity. Among these are to be reckoned many of the *Ḳeri* (*Kethib*) and probably also the notes *ḥōdesh*, 'holy', and *ḥōl*, 'profane', which are occasionally attached to divine names or titles, such as 'god' or 'lord', to shew whether the reference is to false gods (or human beings) or to the true God. Probably the note SELAH is the oldest of them all, for it has secured a place in the text itself.

The suggestion I make is that this note (apparently the earliest of all) is of quite general significance, a *Nota bene*, simply calling attention to the context in which it is embedded. One purpose it may well have served is that of calling attention to a change of thought in the Psalm, i. e. of acting as the mark of a fresh paragraph. As such it suggested to the musician some fresh start or some change in the music. - But so ancient a term as SELAH may well have served more purposes than one. The reserve of the early Jewish exegete was profound; his wont was not to tell the secret of a difficult passage, but only to set a wise disciple on the track of the explanation.

'The wise men of old have directed that no one shall lecture on these subjects save to a single auditor, and to him only if he be himself a wise man and an understanding scholar. So afterwards the headings of the chapters may be delivered to him and he may be taught a little of the matter; and since he is himself a man of understanding he will get to know all that may be known of the conclusion of the matter and its depth.' (Maimonides, *Yad*, יסורי התורה ch. ii, § 17 on Ezek. i.)¹

Thus (it is suggested) SELAH may be taken as the earliest and simplest form of note which was attached to the Hebrew text. It became obsolete and was in many cases dropped when the addition of the vowel points and other helps conveyed the comment to which SELAH was meant to refer.

This suggestion must be tested inductively, though not all of the seventy-eight instances can be discussed. The case will probably be best presented if a number of instances are classified and examined.

The verses of the Psalter then which contain SELAH fall into five classes. They are:—

- (1) Those in which some peculiarity of spelling or pointing is found, e. g. vii 6 (יְרִידָה); ix 21 (מִוֶּדֶה).
- (2) Those in which some peculiarity of grammatical form occurs, e. g. iii 3 (יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה); xx 4 (יִרְשְׁנָה).
- (3) Those in which there is a doubt among Jewish exegetes whether

¹ Quoted from H. H. Bernard's *Selections*, pp. 5, 7.

a pronoun (or other part of speech) is 'holy' or 'profane', i. e. whether it refers to the Divine Being or not, e. g. xxiv 6; xlvi 4 (בְּנֵאוֹתוֹ); xlvii 5; lii 7 (אֹהֶל).

(4) Those which contain names or titles of God which have been the subject of Midrash, e. g. lix 6 (Aben Ezra *in loco*).

(5) Other instances not to be included in the preceding classes which plainly give occasion for Midrashic treatment, e. g. ii 2 (διάψαλμα in LXX); lxviii 8. Several instances might be classed under more than one heading.

1. Under the first heading comes vii 6 with the strangely pointed word יָרִיף. It is beside the mark to correct the form (with Kittel) to the usual pointing of the Kal. The unusual form is attested by the Masorah, Abu'l-Walid (*Book of Roots*, ed. Neubauer), Aben Ezra and Kimḥi. The Punctators plainly indicate that there is a variation in the tradition: some authorities read the Kal, others the Piel. The hesitation as to the pointing sprang (as we see from Kimḥi's comment) from a doubt as to the interpretation. He writes: 'This verb is compounded of the verb in the Kal and the verb in the dageshed voice (i. e. Piel). . . . The meaning of the compound is that the enemy pursues me in his own person (Kal) and causes others to pursue me (Piel).' Kimḥi then applies the words to Saul's pursuit of David in which Israel was bidden to join.

The next verse to be mentioned in which these three elements—a strange pointing, a strange (perhaps, perverse) interpretation, and the word SELAH—are found, occurs at no distance from the first. In ix 21 the Hebrew (consonantal text), the LXX, and the Peshitta read, 'Appoint them (i. e. the nations) a *lawgiver* (an instructor, מוֹרֶה) that the nations may learn to know that they are men.' But early Jewish study stumbled at the thought of a 'lawgiver' to give *torah* to the nations! Some severer lesson was expected for the heathen than merely that they should become Moses' disciples and learn that they are but men! On the Masoretic-Midrashic side it was suggested that מוֹרֶא was intended; the Psalmist must surely have prayed that 'terror' should be the lot of the nations. So Aquila writes φόβημα, and Jerome supersedes the *legislatorem* of the Gallican Psalter by the *terrorem* of the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*. Is it only a coincidence that SELAH closed this verse as it closed vii 6? Before answering the question it is well to remember that there is one (one only) intermediate verse which ends with SELAH. Here (ix 17) the pointing (and interpretation) was a subject of discussion by early Jewish scholars. 'He snareth (יִקְשֵׁ) the wicked in the work of his own hands'—so stands R. V. marg. in agreement with the Punctators. A. V. and R. V. text read 'The wicked is snared' (as though יִקְשֵׁ) in agreement with the Jewish

Commentators. Is it of no significance that three successive instances of pointing which have given rise to Jewish discussion are followed each by the note SELAH?

Under this heading falls also Ps. lxxxviii 8. It has already been urged that the explanation of SELAH as a musical direction is not suitable in this passage. But there is abundant justification in the sense of the verse itself for taking SELAH as a *Nota bene*, warning the reader that the pointing of an important word needs consideration. The literal translation of 8^b is certainly *not*

‘And with all thy billows thou hast afflicted me’,

but

‘And thou hast afflicted all thy billows.’

But this is nonsense, it is objected. So it is, but nonsense with a purpose in it, as the SELAH (here equivalent to *sic*) shews. Change the vowel points only and a sense quite serious—too serious indeed for publication—appears, namely,

‘And thou hast afflicted all that wait on thee’.

The Psalm is as gloomy and bitter as the early speeches of Job, and its bitterness finds a climax in v. 8. The Psalmist, like the author of Ps. lxi (v. 7 [6]), identifies his cause with the cause of all the righteous, and declares that in his affliction they also have been afflicted. But the words seem to reproach God with utter injustice, and so the earliest commentators warned the reader of dangerous ground with a SELAH, while the Punctators embodied and veiled the tradition in an impossible pointing of the dangerous word. ‘Thy billows’ is a very early mask for ‘those that wait on thee’, for it is found in LXX, but the Greek translators have carried the process a stage further by providing a suitable verb (ἐπιγγαγες).

2. SELAH again is attached to verses which contain a word of peculiar grammatical form. The first occurrence of SELAH in the MT of the Psalter is in iii 3 [2], where ישועה ‘salvation’, is found with the uncommon ending *-āthāh*, which stands for *-āh* plus *āh*. ‘There is no salvation for him in God. SELAH.’ A modern expositor would no doubt pass over the form with a brief grammatical remark, but not so the Hebrew commentator of early times whose thought easily turned to Midrash. R. D. Kimḥi comments thus: ‘*There is no salvation for him (David) in this world, for he shall not be delivered from the hand of Absalom, and there is no salvation for his soul for the world to come.* . . . Every doubling of a termination is intended to double the meaning of the word.’ Now this comment is certainly ancient in form, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it is also ancient in matter.

I suggest that SELAH is a N. B. calling attention to the tradition that the uncommon form of *ישועה* was not meaningless. Masorah and Midrash meet here.

Ps. iii 5 [4] is a similar case. A literal translation of the verse (MT) is: '[With] my voice I will cry unto JEHOVAH and *he hath answered* me from his holy mountain. SELAH.' 'Past instead of Future', comments Kimḥi, . . . 'Either it is to be understood literally that his confidence rested on this experience (i. e. that JEHOVAH had answered him in the Past) *or* (and this is correct) the Holy Spirit had come upon his tongue . . . for the thing is as if it were already accomplished, when it hath been spoken by the Holy Spirit.' Again, SELAH calls attention to the meeting of 'Masorah' (in the wider sense) and Midrash.

One more passage—a striking one—may be mentioned: Ps. xx 4 [3], 'JEHOVAH remember all thy meal offerings and accept as fat (LXX *πανάτω*, *יִרְשָׁנָה*) thy burnt sacrifice.' Rashi, Aben Ezra, and Kimḥi all comment on the strange form of the termination of the word, and explain the verb as expressing in one way or another the notion of acceptance. But the Midrash Tehillim (p. 176) contains a comment which is perhaps much older than that of the three great Commentators. It runs: 'Accept thy burnt sacrifice. SELAH. This is ISAAC who was bound upon the altar as a burnt sacrifice.' The comment is surprising, for why should Isaac be introduced here? The form of *יִרְשָׁנָה* answers the question. Neither the vowels nor the consonants can be satisfactorily explained on the hypothesis that this is a single homogeneous word. The Midrash suggests a various reading; while the Bible-text looks like a group of consonants and vowels intended to preserve a record of two readings. We may read *either* *ירשן* 'may he accept', *or* *ישנה* 'may he change' (or 'he will change'). Isaac is the one burnt sacrifice in the O. T. which was 'changed', since God sent a ram to take his place. The victim was changed and the sacrifice was accepted. Here again where Masorah and Midrash meet, we find SELAH standing at the end of the verse.

3. The third class of SELAH-passages may be compared in part with the list of the passages which are reckoned as *Tikkun Sopherim*.¹ A question arises whether a word (or a suffix) has a 'holy' reference, i. e. a reference to the Supreme, or a 'profane' one. Thus Ezek. viii 17 'Lo! they put the branch (the *barsom* of the Parsees, perhaps) to their face', is said to be *Tikkun Sopherim* for the daring expression 'to my face', i. e. 'in defiance of me', God himself being the speaker. A similar question arises in Ps. xxiv 6, 'They that seek thy face, O Jacob. SELAH.' Is the reference of the possessive pronoun 'profane', as the A. V. takes it? The LXX takes it as 'holy', for it translates para-

¹ J. T. S. i 387-414.

phrastically: ζητούντων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ. διάψαλμα. The Peshitta half way between MT and LXX gives 'That seek thy face, O God of Jacob'. Here is a trace of the well-known Midrashic discussion as to 'holy' and 'profane', and SELAH is added to warn the reader against too hastily accepting the 'profane' reference.

Again, what is the reference of the possessive suffix in xlv 4 [3], 'The mountains shake with the swelling thereof'? The E.V. rendering suggests the swelling of the sea, but a very different rendering is possible, 'The mountains shake at His majesty'. So Rashi explains, 'His majesty'. That is of the Holy One (Blessed be He) who is mentioned at the beginning of the Psalm'. A concluding SELAH warns against the 'profane' interpretation adopted by the E.V.

Ps. xlvii 5 contains again an instance of the doubt between 'holy' and 'profane'. Taking the reference as 'profane' we translate (following E.V.):—

He chooseth for us *our* inheritance,

Even the excellent { land
sanctuary of Jacob which he loved.

On the other hand, following the reading pre-supposed by the LXX in the first clause (τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ), we render:—

He chooseth for us [the land of] His inheritance,

Because He loveth the glory of Jacob.

The doubt whether Canaan should be spoken of as 'our inheritance' or 'His inheritance', a doubt giving full play to Midrash, is noted at the end of the verse with SELAH.

Yet another instance of the same doubt may be seen in lii 7 [5], '[God] shall take thee up, and pluck thee *out of tent*' (*sic!* ἔσχαλ, LXX ἀπὸ σκηνώματος). The E.V. takes the 'profane' view of the phrase and renders 'out of thy tent', but the Peshitta and Aben Ezra give 'His tent', and SELAH (as in other instances) gives warning that the word may (or must) be taken as 'holy'.

4. The fourth class consists of those SELAH-passages which contain Names or Titles of God. A good instance is found in lxviii 33: 'Kingdoms of the earth, sing ye to God; sing praises unto the Lord (אֲדֹנָי). SELAH.' The SELAH is perhaps a reminder that this 'Adonai' is an 'accommodation' for the Tetragrammaton, which eight of Kennicott's MSS have. The address is to the Gentiles, and therefore the Sacred Name, thought to be unsuitable here, is suggested only, not expressed.

A second instance is almost certainly to be found in l 6: 'And the heavens have declared his righteousness,'

כִּי אֱלֹהִים שָׁפַט הוּא סֵלָה

thirty of Kennicott's MSS read שופט, together with the 'Elohim' which occurs in this verse and in the following verses.

The second clause is ambiguous; it might be rendered *either* 'For He hath judged gods' (*elohim* = gods of the nations) *or*, 'For God (ELOHIM), He is judge'. The concluding SELAH warns the reader to choose with care.

To these must be added Hab. iii 3, where SELAH is introduced into the middle of the verse to call attention to the use of קדוש (without the article and without any qualifying word) as a designation of the God of Israel. The title is noticed in the Masorah on this passage. It is difficult to see what the note SELAH considered as a musical direction could mean in the middle of this verse.

Here a SELAH-passage should be mentioned in which perhaps the name of a heathen god is given. Ps. lx 6 runs: 'Thou hast given to them that fear Thee a banner that they may be delivered (escape) from the face of Kosheṭ. SELAH.' What is Kosheṭ? Ancient authority is divided. The Targum takes the sense of *truth* and gives a Midrashic turn to the words 'that they may escape thereby for the sake of the truth of Abraham'. LXX, Aquila, and Peshitta take Kosheṭ as equivalent to *kesheth*, 'bow'. It is however to be observed that the Punctators have pointed the word as they have pointed 'Molech', i. e. so as to suggest the meaning 'the shameful thing', and it is possible that the word is the disfigured name of a heathen god, like Nego (for 'Nebo') or Nisroch (perhaps for 'Marduk'). A god Kaus (קס) or Kaush is known as an Edomite or as a Nabatean deity (see Nöldeke, E. B. s.v. Edom), who may have been a storm-god or war-god. Kaus is also a common Arabic word for 'bow' (*arcus*).

5. The fifth class consists of those passages which seem for different reasons to challenge Midrashic or Masoretic treatment. Such are the verses in which by use of synonymous words an idea is repeated, or again in which there is a repetition of a word or a syllable. Midrash insists that in such cases the two words are not strictly equivalent, since each word has its own reference, and even a repeated syllable is not otiose. (One extreme case of this last kind has been already noticed in Ps. iii 3, ישועה, where a 'double termination' has been thus treated by Midrash.) Ps. lxxviii supplies two instances: *first* (of a clause), in v. 4 [3] where two synonymous words are used to express one idea, 'Let the righteous be glad, [and] let them exult' (עלצו), to which some thirty MSS prefix the conjunction ו). Kimḥi's comment on the *two* verbs is simply 'Hezekiah and Israel', i. e. he suggests that each verb has its own subject: Hezekiah 'is glad'; Israel 'exults'. In this case the SELAH, which has been lost from MT, is preserved in LXX, οἱ δίκαιοι εὐφρανθήτωσαν, διάψαλμα. ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

In the second passage the repetition is of a syllable. (Again SELAH is preserved in LXX only.) V. 14, 'As the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her pinions with yellow (בִּירְקָרֶקֶד) gold. δίαψαλμα.' Both Aben Ezra and Rashi comment on the reduplicated form, and say that the 'best gold' is meant. Here probably the significance of SELAH is Masoretic; it is as though a *sic* were added to a form which otherwise might be carelessly emended.

A good instance of a verse which challenges by its contents Midrashic treatment is ii 2, 'The rulers take counsel together against JEHOVAH and against His Anointed'. Here SELAH is absent from MT, but the LXX (= Psalt. Rom. et Gall.) has δίαψαλμα, and it is most probable that the LXX is right. Midrash must ask, Why is *another* so closely associated with the Holy One? The answer can be supplied from a Midrashic comment on a different passage. It is because 'Every one who riseth up against Israel is as if he rose up against the Holy One, Blessed be He (*Mechilta*, ed. Friedmann on Exod. xv 7)'.

Another similar passage is iv 5, 6 [4, 5], 'Commune with your own heart upon your bed and be silent. SELAH. Offer the sacrifices of righteousness'. Here the Midrash runs: 'What is meant by *Be silent* SELAH? R. Judah said: Provided thou cease from the transgression which thou hast in hand. And if thou behavest thus—what is written next, *Offer the sacrifices of righteousness!* This means, I will reckon it unto thee as if thou hadst built an altar' (*Midrash Tehillim*, ed. S. Buber, p. 46).

Yet two more passages may be cited: (a) Ps. iii 9, 'Salvation belongeth unto JEHOVAH; thy blessing be (or shall be) upon thy people. SELAH.' Here the lack of connexion between the clauses has given rise to Midrash. Rashi's comment is as follows: 'It is incumbent upon Him to save His servants and His people, and it is incumbent upon His people to bless Him and to give thanks to Him.' The final SELAH claims the verse for this Midrashic explanation.

(b) Ps. lxxviii 8, 'When thou marchest (בַּעֲרֹךְ) in the wilderness' (שִׁימֹחַ) has its parallel in Judges v 4, 'When thou marchest (בַּעֲרֹךְ) from the field of Edom', and also in Hab. iii 12, and in 2 Sam. v 24. SELAH reminds the reader that there are these instructive parallel passages. JEHOVAH 'marches' with the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire against the enemies of His people; so the parallels teach us. The anthropomorphic expression challenged comment.

Perhaps a sixth class should be added containing SELAH-passages the text of which is highly uncertain. These may be summarily treated here.

(a) Ps. xxxii 7 רָגַי פִּלַּט תְּסוּבֵנִי סֵלָה: [תַּצְרֵנִי]; LXX τὸ ἀγαλλίαμα

μον λύτρωσαί με ἀπὸ τῶν κυκλωσάντων με. διάψαλμα. Some corruption is probable here, and רני may be (as it is supposed) a dittography.

(b) Ps. lxii 9 : סלה . . כלה עת עת עת, LXX ἐλπίσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν, πᾶσα συναγωγή (עדת) λαοῦ. . . . διάψαλμα. The Hebrew text reads strangely, and the Greek certainly suggests another reading.

(c) Ps. xciv 15 : כִּי עַד צַדִּיק יָשׁוּב מִשְׁפָּט וְאַחֲרָיו כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל ; Peshitta, 'Because judgement returneth after the righteous man (צדיק), and after him are all the upright of heart'. Two MSS (Kenn.) צדיק. In this last passage SELAH is wanting in the Hebrew, but LXX has διάψαλμα.

In each of these three instances ancient authority suggests a variation in the text. To these passages from the Psalter may be added two from Hab. iii. Vv. 9, 13 of Hab. iii are in fact two places as difficult textually as any passage in the whole Hebrew Bible. But early Jewish scholarship did not emend these (or similar places), but it boldly read into them more than the modern commentator can find in them as they stand. The note SELAH is an indication that Midrashic comment is to be looked for to explain these obscure passages, and so to preserve the text untouched.

To sum up the conclusions of this Note :—

(1) SELAH being embedded in the text of the Hebrew O.T. must belong to the earliest stage of comment or exegesis.

(2) As the product of the first tentative work of Jewish exegetes it had (probably) a quite general significance.

(3) It often occurs where there is some change or break in the thought of the Psalmist.

(4) Consequently, though SELAH was not specially intended as a musical direction, it would often serve as one.

(5) In many instances it has no reference to music, but it calls attention to some difficulty of text or interpretation.

(6) It was at one time found more frequently than now in the text of the Psalter, but it lost most of its *raison d'être* when the work of the Masorets attained its present developement and the tradition as to the pointing became fixed.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE TEN LUCAN HYMNS OF THE NATIVITY IN THEIR ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

PROFESSOR C. C. TORREY of Yale has recently produced good evidence to shew that St Luke made use of material couched in Palestinian Aramaic in the earliest chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.¹ I propose now to attempt to shew good reason for believing that in considerable sections at least of the Nativity chapters of his Gospel St Luke made use of material in the Hebrew and not in the Aramaic language.

In the *International Commentary on St Luke's Gospel* (Plummer) p. 7, in the section on the first two chapters, we find the following somewhat remarkable statement, that 'the form of the narrative is strongly *Hebraistic*, so much so that one may be confident that he [St Luke] is translating from an *Aramaic* [*sic*] document'.² It is hardly necessary to put in a *caveat* to the effect that Hebrew and Aramaic are two perfectly distinct, even if cognate, languages, and that, though they have much in common, they frequently differ in idiom as well as in vocabulary.

It should be emphasized that traces of *Aramaic* idiom are desirable and necessary before one can be quite confident that one is dealing with a translation from *Aramaic*, and that likewise *Hebraistic* peculiarities of diction in a document may possibly point, not to an Aramaic, but to a *Hebrew* original.

It must be granted, however, that it is not always easy to tell, in a good Greek translation, whether the original was in Hebrew or in Aramaic, as the phraseology of these two languages, which would most naturally be preserved in a translation, is very frequently common to both of them.

There are nevertheless many more distinctively Aramaic usages in the New Testament than have as yet been adequately and properly recognized; and, on the other hand, there are certain neglected tests for Hebrew as distinct from Aramaic originals, which, in some cases, produce interesting and, I venture to hope, convincing results. The application of such tests as these latter I shall proceed to demonstrate in the case of Luke i and ii.

¹ The Composition and Date of Acts (*Harvard Theological Studies*).

² This might be thought to be a slip, but it was still unaltered in the reprint of the 4th edition 1905.

Let us first examine the *Nunc Dimittis* (Lc. ii 29-32). It has always been recognized that these words, spoken by the aged Simeon, were of the nature of a poem. It is also familiar to most students that portions of the first two chapters of Luke form easy exercises in Hebrew composition. What has, I believe, not hitherto been appreciated is the fact that the *Nunc Dimittis*, when translated into Hebrew with the closest regard for the order of the words as they are in Greek, and with as much literalness as is legitimate in rendering the peculiar idiom of one language into another, is found to be in *regular Hebrew metre*. The song in fact is made up of three trimeter couplets.

עַתָּה תִּשְׁלַח עַבְדְּךָ	} Nûn ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου,
: כְּבָרְךָ אֲרֵנִי בְּשָׁלֵם	
כִּי־רָאוּ עֵינֵי יִשְׁעָתְךָ	} *Οτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου
: הִכִּינוֹתָ לִפְנֵי בְּלִהֲעֵפִים	
אֹר לְנֵלוֹת הַנּוֹחַם	} Φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν
: וְתַפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲפֹד	

In this translation (as frequently elsewhere in this article) I have followed Franz Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament fairly closely, mainly because he can hardly be suspected of letting a bias in favour of the particular metrical theory, which is here accepted, affect his translation in these chapters. There is, moreover, quite clear internal evidence, patent to those who care to examine his Hebrew New Testament, that he was writing without regard to metre, and merely translating with great fidelity.

I have in the above poem merely changed Delitzsch's תַּפְאֶרֶת to תִּשְׁלַח in the first line; omitted his אֵת's in lines 1 and 3 as being inelegant; omitted the relative in line 4 as being unnecessary in poetry and not often found in the Psalms; and omitted עֵינֵי in the fifth line as not being required by the Greek.

The result, as has been shewn, is three trimeter couplets.

It would seem quite impossible that such a result should be accidental. Something in the way of Hebrew parallels might be achieved in Greek, which would be still parallelism of a kind when translated into Hebrew, but perfectly regular Hebrew metre for six consecutive lines grouped in couplets, as a result of a literal translation from the Greek, can mean but one thing, and that is, a metrical Hebrew original for the Greek. I would, therefore, submit this result as good evidence that the *Nunc Dimittis* was originally written in Hebrew in accordance with

the canons of Hebrew metre¹ followed in the majority if not in all of the ancient Hebrew Psalms and Poems.²

(i) The discovery of the regular metre is interesting as shewing that the knowledge of the rules of ancient Hebrew prosody had not been lost in the first century A. D., in spite of Josephus's statement regarding the metre of the Song of Moses at the Red Sea, which statement is so glaringly erroneous³ that it suggests that though the fact that the Hebrew Old Testament Psalms and Poems were metrical was still remembered in his days, yet the knowledge of the actual old Hebrew metres had been entirely lost.

The *Nunc Dimittis* proves on the contrary that the old metres were understood and were moreover still practised in some circles.

(ii) Further, we are now able to correct Westcott and Hort in their arrangement of the first two lines of this song. It should be divided as shewn above, with Δέσποτα at the beginning of the second line instead of at the end of the first.

(iii) But what is perhaps most important is, that the fact of a Hebrew original for this poem throws light on the much disputed problem of the original language of Luke i and ii. It is a definite piece of evidence, so far as it goes, in favour of Hebrew, as against Aramaic. For if the poem be translated into Aramaic it shews no sign of any kind of recognized metre, nor of any poetic form, save a certain balance and parallelism, which is retained in some degree into whatsoever language it is rendered.

As for Professor Burkitt's dictum 'that in the story of the Nativity (Lk. i and ii) . . . the LXX and *not any Hebrew or Aramaic document* has perceptibly coloured the style and language of the whole narrative',⁴

¹ The metrical theory presupposed here is that based on the *tonic* as opposed to the *syllabic* system, which latter has now but few advocates. The former is the principle of measurement adopted by Julius Ley, Francis Brown, Harper, Cheyne, Duhm, Kittel, and Briggs, and seems to be destined to hold the field, although its application may perhaps be modified in detail.

² It is important to note that it is the presence of *metre*, not of *parallelism*, that this investigation brings to light. Parallelism is by no means absent from the poems and hymns in these chapters of Luke, but it is for the most part incidental rather than an essential and predominating principle. On the other hand exactly the same kind of balance as takes the place of pure parallelism in the first two couplets of the *Nunc Dimittis* may be found in many places in the Psalter. They are particularly frequent in late Psalms. Apparently by N. T. times metre came to be the predominating principle of poetic form, while parallelism was relegated to quite a subordinate position.

³ Josephus (*Ant.* ii 16. 4) states that it was in hexameter verse! The song, however, is clearly in tetrameter. It should, however, be observed that Josephus rightly describes the Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii as hexameter (*Ant.* iv 8. 40).

⁴ *Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 124.

it would seem to go by the board, in this particular instance, and as will presently be shewn in many other very considerable and important sections. It would require an exceedingly ingenious use of the LXX to produce a style and language which would result in a regular Hebrew metre when rendered practically literally into that language.

Following up the clue which we have found, we are led to test the rest of the first two chapters for further signs of a metrical original when they are translated, or, as would really appear to be the case, retranslated in Hebrew.

When this test is applied it becomes apparent that while none of the narrative matter resolves itself naturally into metre, though here and there it is sufficiently poetic as to take on a certain parallelism of expression (e. g. ii 8), yet with comparatively few and slight exceptions *practically everything which is spoken is in verse and in regular metre.*

As the demonstration of this fact is of much importance with regard to the original language and source of the chapters in question (for the case of the *Nunc Dimittis* might be held by some to be exceptional), I propose to set it forth in some detail.

In so doing we shall (*a*) discover the presence of several sections of verse not hitherto recognized as such. (*b*) We shall also confirm certain important cases hitherto in doubt or, at least, insufficiently recognized. Altogether it will appear that there are in all no fewer than ten distinct hymns or poems in these two chapters. (*c*) Further, we shall find new light thrown on the literary structure of the recognized songs, which will help us to modify the present arrangement of one or two of them at least in Westcott and Hort, &c. (*d*) And in general we shall find ourselves in possession of a new instrument for the literary criticism of the text.

A. Luke i 14-17, *The Proclamation of the Angel to Zachariah*. This is not treated as a poem in either the Revised Version or in Westcott and Hort. Prof. Moffatt has, however, very rightly printed it as verse, probably in accordance with his plan of printing all parallelisms in the New Testament as verse, a plan which is in general most illuminating, though it has occasionally led him into the error of exhibiting the balance and apparent parallelisms of legal statements and logical arguments as poetry.¹

Rendered into Hebrew almost slavishly (again following Delitzsch fairly closely in the main) the passage runs as follows:—

וַיְהִי־לֶךְ לְשִׁמְחָה וְנִי	}	Kai ἔσται χαρά σοι καὶ ἀγαλλίασις,
וְרַבִּים יִשְׁמְחוּ בְּהַנְדָּרוֹ:		Kai πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται.
כִּי נִדְּוֹל יִהְיֶה לְפָנַי יְהוָה:		"Εσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον Κυρίου.

¹ e. g. Rom. vi 18, 19; 1 Cor. vii 12, 13, 18; 1 Cor. xv 47-49.

וַיֵּין וְשָׁכַר לֹא-יִשְׁתָּה	} Καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ μὴ πῖνῃ,
וְרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ יִמְלֵא	} Καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται,
בְּעַדְנוּ בְּבֶטֶן אִמּוֹ :	ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.
וְיָבִים מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	} Καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ
יָשִׁיב אֱלֹהִיהֶם :	'Ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ Κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν
וְהָיָא יְלֹד לִפְנָיו	} Καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
בְּרוּחַ אֱלֹהֵיוּ וּבְנִבְרָתוֹ	} Ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἑλεεία,
לְהָשִׁיב לִבְאֲבוֹת עַל-בָּנִים	'Ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα
וְהַפְּרִיִּים לְתַבְנִית הַצַּדִּיקִים	} Καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων,
לְהַעֲמִיד לַיהוָה עִם מַחֲקָן :	'Ἐτοιμάσαι Κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον.

As can readily be seen it falls naturally into trimeters with the doubtful exceptions of the third and last lines, which go more easily and literally into tetrameters of a kind, but might possibly be respectively rendered as trimeters, thus :—

line 3 כִּינֹדֵל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה
and line 13 לְהַעֲמִיד לַיהוָה עִם-מַחֲקָן

It is to be observed, moreover, that neither of these lines belongs to a couplet. They are solitary lines in a collection of couplets, which makes one suspect that they may be glosses or later additions.

Line 3 might easily be a correct explanatory gloss on the first couplet.

Line 13, if it was originally trimeter and not tetrameter, might on the other hand have been the first line of a couplet, the second of which has now been lost.

Line 6 is trimeter, but is also solitary. It is most probably a gloss, unless indeed, perchance, it is misplaced and originally made a couplet with line 3, thus :—

‘For He shall be great before Jehovah
While He is yet in His mother’s womb.’

If line 6 in disregard of metre be taken as part of line 5 it spoils the sense, not to speak of the balance, of an excellent antithetic couplet,

‘No wine nor strong drink shall He drink,
But with the spirit of wisdom shall He be filled.’

in which we have the same antithesis as in Eph. v 18 ‘Be not drunk with wine (wherein is excess), *but* be filled with the Spirit’. Apart from these three lines we have in the poem *five trimeter couplets*. In accordance with this finding verse 16 in Moffatt’s translation, which

at present is represented as a single long and very clumsy line, should be represented as a couplet. Similarly with verse 17.

B. i 30-33. *Gabriel's first address to Mary*. This can, without much difficulty, be literally construed into five hexameter lines as follows:—

אֶל־תִּירְאִי מִרָם בִּרְחוֹן מְצֹאת | לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים	Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ, εὖρες γὰρ χάριν | παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.
וְהִנֵּה הִרָה וְלִדְתָּ בֶן | וְקִרְאתָ שְׁמוֹ יֵשׁוּעַ	Καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήμψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, | καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.
וְהוּא נָדוּל יְהִיָּה | וְבֶן עֲלִיּוֹן יִקְרָא	Οὗτος ἔσται μέγας | καὶ υἱὸς Ὑψίστου κληθήσεται,
וַיְהִי אֱלֹהִים יְתֹנֶלּוּ | בְּפֶאֱ דָוִד אָבִיו	Καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς | τὸν θρόνον Δαυεὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ,
וְעַל בֵּית־עֶקֶב יִמְלֶךְ לְעֹלָם | וּמַלְכוּתוֹ אֲיֹמָר:	Καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, | καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

The lines, as is so often the case with hexameters, are rather clumsy. It should be noted that the caesuras¹ fall in their right places. It may be held however that the pause in the fourth line is too slight for a caesura, in which case the whole line might have to be rejected. The evidential value of this section is possibly not so strong as that of the two previous examples.

W. H., R. V., &c. have failed to recognize these lines as constituting a poem.

Moffatt rightly prints verses 32 and 33 as poetry, though verse 32, as he has it, should be broken up into four parts, not into two. Verses 30-31, which Moffatt treats as prose, ought likewise to be printed as part of the poem by him and other New Testament editors.

C. *Gabriel's second address to Mary* (i 35-37). This presents more difficulties.

(a) It begins with a beautiful tetrameter synonymous couplet in

¹ The reader may be reminded that caesuras occur in the several metres as follows:—

tetrameter, after the 2nd beat.

pentameter, ,, 3rd beat (there are a certain number of doubtful cases after the 2nd beat, which Briggs accepts).

hexameter, ,, 4th beat (also frequently, but less elegantly, after the 3rd beat).

In pentameters and hexameters the caesura is *de rigueur*. In the tetrameter it is optional. Practically all the caesuras shewn in the course of this article are preserved in the order of the Greek—an extraordinary piece of strong evidence in favour of my thesis.

which the parallelism is as perfect as the metre. It is strange that Moffatt has overlooked it.

רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ תָּבוֹא עָלַיָךְ	}	Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ,
וַיָּבֹרֶת עָלֶיךָ הַצֵּל עָלֶיךָ		Kaì δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι.

The next line (the exact meaning of which is doubtful) is prose, not poetry, whether it be rendered :

עַל־כֵּן נִסְתַּלְחֵד קְדוֹשׁ יִקְרָא בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים	διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθή-
	σεται, υἱὸς θεοῦ.

or with Delitzsch :

עַל־כֵּן נִסְתַּלְחֵד הַיְלֹד יִקְרָא בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים	διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον, κληθή-
	σεται υἱὸς θεοῦ.

Although it has five accents it is not pentameter, as there is no caesura, which is *de rigueur* in that metre. Moreover, it stands by itself, being grouped, neither in parallelism nor metre, with either what precedes or what follows.

If the Hebrew be taken as a reliable criterion, this line would appear to be a later addition—an explanatory theological gloss.

(b) The next lines resolve into two trimeter couplets as follows (or perhaps a trimeter quadruplet) :—

וְהִנֵּה אֵלֵיְשָׁבַע קְרוֹבָתָךְ	}	Kaì ἰδοὺ Ἐλεῖσάβητ ἡ συγγενὴς σου
נִסְתַּחֲיָא הִרְתַּחֲבֹן בְּזֻקְנֶתָהּ		Kaì αὐτὴ συνείληφεν υἱὸν ἐν γήρει αὐτῆς.
וְהִרְלָה הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁשִׁי	}	Kaì οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ
אֲשֶׁר קָרְאֻלָּה עֲקָרָה		Τῇ καλουμένῃ στείρα.

The change in metre is suitable, as the nature of the communication now made to Mary is of quite a different quality from that made in the tetrameter couplet.

Gabriel's address closes with another line (v. 37), which has no fellow, and is of the nature of prose. It is almost an exact quotation from Gen. xviii 14, and shews signs of possible derivation from the LXX and not from the Massoretic text.

Delitzsch renders it	כִּי לֹא־יָפְלָא מֵאֱלֹהִים כָּל־דְּבָר
Gk. N. T.	ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα.
LXX	μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ῥῆμα ;
M. T.	הַיָּפְלָא מִיְהוָה דְּבָר

It would thus appear to be an illustrative quotation appended to the angel's speech after its translation into Greek.

D. *Elizabeth's speech of welcome to Mary* (i 42-45). This is treated as prose by R. V. and W. & H.

Plummer in his *St Luke* (Int. Crit.) comments on it thus: 'It seems to have the characteristics of Hebrew poetry in a marked degree. . . . It consists of two strophes of four lines each.' He prints it in the Greek accordingly.

(a) In Hebrew the first of these strophes runs as follows:—

בְּרֹכָה אַתְּ בְּנָשִׁים	}	Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν,
וּבְרִיךְ פְּרִי בִטְנֶךָ :		Καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου.
וַיִּמְאֵן לִי אֵת	}	Καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο
שִׁבְעָה אֲמַדְרָנִי אֱלֹהִי :		Ἰνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ;

As may be seen the strophe consists of two trimeter couplets. Moffatt has recognized the first of these couplets, but not the second. He has not recognized the second strophe at all. At first sight the third line appears to be weak, as לִי in poetry is almost always treated as enclitic. Here, however, it correctly takes an accent, as it is the most emphatic word in the line.

(b) The second strophe appears thus in Hebrew:—

בִּיִּקוֹל בְּרַבְתָּהּ בָּא בְּאוֹנִי	}	[ἰδοὺ γὰρ] Ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἀσπα-
וַיִּרְקַד בְּשִׁמְחָה הֵילָךְ בְּמַעֲוִי :		σμοῦ σου εἰς τὰ ὠτά μου,
וַאֲשֶׁר־הַפְּאֻמִּינָה בִּיהִפּוּלָא תְּפִילָּא	}	Ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει τὸ βρέφος ἐν
אֲשֶׁר רַבְרַלָּה סָאָת יְהוּה :		τῇ κοιλίᾳ μου.
		Καὶ μακαρία ἡ πιστεύουσα ὅτι ἔσται
		τελείωσις
		Τοῖς λελαημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ Κυρίου.

It will be found that the metre has changed to tetrameter, and that the strophe consists of two synthetic couplets. Ἴδου γάρ, as Plummer has not realized, is not properly part of the strophe, but is merely the connecting link, probably editorial, with the preceding strophe. In the Greek and the various versions it should be printed accordingly.

E. *The Magnificat* (i 46-55) appears in Hebrew as follows:—

(a)	}	רָמַמָּה נַפְשִׁי יְהוּה [אֱלֹהֵי]	Μεγαλίνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον[],
		וַתִּגַּל רִדְחִי | בְּאֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי :	Καὶ ἡγαλλίασεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου | ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ σωτηρῇ μου.
	}	כִּי רָאָה רָאָה בְּעֵינֵי אֲמַתִּי	"Οτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν
		וַהֲגִה מַעֲתָה | בְּלִדְרוֹת יִשְׁאֲרָנִי :	τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ,
			Ἴδου γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν | μακαριοῦσίν
			με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί·

(b)	כִּי נִדְּלוֹת עָשָׂה לִי שָׂדֵי |	} 'Οτι ἐποίησέν μοι μεγάλη ὁ δυνατός καὶ ἅγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, Καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν.
וְקָדוֹשׁ שְׁמוֹ:	וְחִסְדּוֹ לְדֹר וָדֹר |	
	עַל יִרְאָיו:	} 'Εποίησεν κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ. διεσκόρπισεν ὑπερηφάνους (ἁ- νοΐα καρδίας αὐτῶν). Καθεῖλεν δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων καὶ ὕψωσεν ταπεινοὺς, Πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ πλουτοῦντας ἐξαπέστευσε κενοὺς.
	נְבִירוֹת עָשָׂה בְּיָדוֹ |	
(בְּמִזְמוֹת לְבָבָם)	פָּאָר גִּבּוֹרִים:	} 'Αντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μνησθῆναι ἐλέους, Καθὼς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
	הָרַם נְדִיבִים מִפְּסָאָתָם |	
וְהָרַם שְׂפָלִים:	רַעֲבִים מִלֶּאֱמָנָה |	
	תַּעֲשִׂירִים שְׁלֹחַ רִיקָם:	
	תִּמְנָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדָיו |	} 'Αντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μνησθῆναι ἐλέους, Καθὼς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
	לְזִכָּר רַחֲמָיו:	
	כִּדְבָרוֹ אֶל-אֲבֹתֵינוּ |	
	לְאַבְרָהָם הָרָעוּ לְעֵלָם:	

(a) The first four lines form a stanza made up of two tetrameter couplets. **אֱלֹהֵי** has had to be supplied to the first line, as some such word appears to have fallen out. The Infinite Absolute **אֵל** in the third line is not represented in the Greek text, although it appears in both the Hebrew and LXX of the passage from which the line is derived (1 Sam. i 11). As it is the same as the finite verb following, when unpointed, it might very easily have dropped out. Delitzsch renders **אֲשֶׁר רָאָה**, which would still make the line tetrameter without **רָאָה**.

(b) The prevailing metre of the next seven lines is pentameter. The third line, then, has two words in excess; if they are removed as a gloss they leave an excellent pentameter with the caesura in the right place after the third beat.

The stanza would seem to have been composed of three pentameter couplets, which leaves one line over.

If the right of any of the lines to a place in the original stanza has to be queried, it must either be line 3 or line 5; the former because, as has been pointed out, it requires docking of two words, the latter because it has a weak caesura, the break coming after the second instead of after the third beat, a rare and unpleasant phenomenon in pentameters.

Both of these lines, however, make excellent parallels to line 4, and

Another way out of the difficulty would be to group line 3 with 4, and line 5 with 6, and to excise the last line, which has a weak caesura, and is somewhat prosaic and might well be a gloss.

F. *The Benedictus* (i 68-69), when reduced into Hebrew, is seen to have been constructed as follows:—

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
בִּרְפָּקָר עִמּוֹ וַיִּשְׁלַח־לוֹ פָּדוּת ¹
וַיִּרְם לָנוּ קָרָן יִשׁוּעָה
וַיִּשְׁעֵנוּ ² מֵאֲיִבֵינוּ וּמִיָּד כָּל־שֹׁנְאָיו | Eὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,
Ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρω-
σιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ,
Καὶ ἡγείρεν κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν . .
Σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ
χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς, |
| (b) | לַעֲשׂוֹת חֶסֶד עִסְבֹּתֵינוּ }
וְלִזְכּוֹר בְּרִית קְדִישׁ }
לָתֵת לָנוּ בְּלִי־פָחַד }
לְהַצִּיל מִיָּד אֲיִבֵינוּ }
לְעִבְדוֹ בִּישָׁר וּבִצְדָקָה }
לִפְנֵינוּ כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֵּינוּ } | Ποιεῖσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν
Καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἀγίας αὐτοῦ, . . .
Τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως
Ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας
Λατρεύειν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ
Ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν. |
| (c) | וְנִם אַתָּה יְיָ נִבְיִא עָלֶינוּ תִּקְרָא
כִּי־תִלָּךְ [בְּמִלְאָךְ] לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לִפְנֵת
דְּרָכָיו
לָתֵת דַּעַת תִּישׁוּעָה לְעַמּוֹ בְּסִלְחָת
חֲסִידֶיךָ
יִשְׁבְּרָחֵמי חֶסֶד אֱלֹהֵינוּ פִּקְדֵנוּ צַמַּח
מִמָּדוּם ³ | Καὶ σὺ δέ, παιδίον,
προφήτης Ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ.
Προπορεύσῃ γὰρ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου
ἐτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ,
Τοῦ δοῦναι γνώσιν σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ
αὐτοῦ
ἐν ἀφάρσει ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν,
Διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους Θεοῦ ἡμῶν,
ἐν οἷς ἐπισκέπεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ
ἐξ ὕψους. |

¹ כי-פקד ויעש פדות לעמו Or

^a Or, more literally יְשׁוּעָה.

³ I am inclined to think that the order of the two halves of this line may have originally been reversed, and that it then ran thus—**שפקרנו צמח ממרום | ברחמי**—**חסד אלהינו**. This order may have been altered in view of the addition of (*d*).

- (d) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{לְהַאֲרִיךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל חֶשֶׁךְ וְצִלְמוֹת} \\ \text{לְהַכִּיחַ בְּנֵי לֵוִי אֶל־דֶּרֶךְ שְׁלוֹם} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{'Επιφάναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θαυᾶτα} \\ \text{καθημένοις,} \\ \text{Τοῦ κατευθῦναι τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν} \\ \text{εἰρήνης.} \end{array}$

The poem is found to break up into four strophes each with its own metre :—

- (a) Four Tetrameter lines.
- (b) Three Trimeter couplets.
- (c) Four Hexameter lines.
- (d) One Tetrameter couplet.

As regards (a) it should be noticed :—

- (i) that the caesuras come in their proper places,
- (ii) that $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ} \\ \text{בְּבֵית דָּוִד יְלֵדוֹ} \end{array} \right\} \text{v. 69 (b)}$

has been excluded as a gloss which spoils the metre. Verse 70 ($\text{καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ}$) has been omitted likewise as a piece of prose which did not belong to the original poem. Nothing could make the line rhythmical except the ingenious but preposterous method employed in so-called metrical chants, which would be equally successful in dealing with a sentence out of a leading article.

As regards (b), as a stanza it cannot originally have stood by itself. Either the original beginning of it has been lost, or else it simply depends on the previous stanza, though in the best style of Hebrew verse each stanza is self-contained and independent of what precedes or follows, even though it may be closely related.

As in stanza (a) a line, v. 73 $\text{ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν}$ ($\text{אֶת־הַשְׁבָּעָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע אֶל־אַבְרָהָם אָבִינוּ}$), is excluded as being more of the nature of prose than poetry. Its presence may be easily accounted for as a gloss on בְּרִית in line 2.

Otherwise the six lines are good and balance one another closely. The initial ל in each line should be noticed as well as also the ending יֵנִי in three out of the six lines.

(c) The character of the poem changes at this point, and it is quite probable that we may have here what was originally a separate poem. The second line is weak as a hexameter, and it is possible that a word may have been lost in transcription of the Hebrew. I would suggest יֵנִי as having slipped out after יֵנִי . All the caesuras are legitimate. The fourth line is the object of the third, thus—‘To give knowledge of salvation, &c., viz. that the Branch has visited us.’

(d) This is a tetrameter couplet apparently dependent on the preceding stanza, much in the same way as (b) is dependent on (a). The same criticism applies to it. The beauty and perfection of its balance and parallelism should be noted.

Taking the poem as a whole, I would remark that its appearance in its Hebrew form suggests its having been originally constructed from portions of more than one poem. But even if it were originally written as one complete whole, we can see that the poet has used a certain licence and looseness with regard to his structure, and that he has not altogether adhered to the best type of Hebrew poetry as regards at once the correlation and the independence of his stanzas.

It is possible that this may be due to what Dr Plummer suggests, viz. 'that the poet has modelled himself on the Prophets rather than on the Psalmists'. The Prophets certainly took more liberties with the artificialities of structure than did the Psalmists. The style of Hebrew suggests too, even more than the Greek does, that the poem was in part at least derived from a different source from the rest of the songs and poetical addresses.

G. *The address of the angel to the shepherds* (ii 10-12). This is not printed as verse in either R.V., W. H., or Moffatt, probably because the parallelism is not particularly obvious. When translated into Hebrew, however, it is seen to be in three tetrameter couplets as follows:—

אֶל-תִּירְאוּ בְּרִהְנִי | מִבֶּשֶׁר אֲחֵכֶם	}	Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, ἰδοὺ γὰρ | εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμῖν
שְׂמֵחָה נִדְוָלָה | תִּהְיֶה לְכָל-הָעָם :		Χαρὰν μεγάλην | ἥτις ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ.
בְּרִילָד לָכֶם | הַיּוֹם מִשְׁשֵׁעַ	}	Ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν | σήμερον σωτήρ
מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה | בְּעִיר דָּוִד :		Ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς κύριος | ἐν πολεὶ Δαυεῖδ.
וְהָ לָכֶם | הָאֵת מִצְאָן	}	Καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν | σημείον εὐρήσετε
עֵלָל מִחֶסֶל | וּמִנָּח בְּאֵיבֹם :		Βρέφος ἐσπαργανωμένον | καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ.

It is to be observed that the caesuras fall naturally in the right places, the only one that might be challenged being that in the first line.

In the first couplet it will be seen that the relative supplied by the translator was probably unnecessary and erroneous, and that the Greek translation ought to have run *Χαρὰ μεγάλη ἔσται κτλ.* The lines should be rendered in English in accordance with the Hebrew

'Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings,
Great joy there shall be for all the people.'

In the second couplet it may be noted incidentally that a Hebrew unpointed original for the curious phrase *Χριστὸς Κύριος* gets rid of the difficulty at once. For *משיח יהוה* might be translated either as *Χριστὸς Κυρίου* or as *Χριστὸς Κύριος*. The former is obviously the right translation. The phrase, then, means the Messiah of Jahveh, in other words the Lord's Anointed'.

The third couplet shews that W. H. and the various English versions not to mention others, have been wrongly punctuated. This is due to the fact that the translator of the Hebrew into Greek has omitted to supply a relative after *τὸ σημεῖον (הַאֵי)*, which relative has quite properly been left to be understood in the Hebrew original. The couplet now reads

'And this is to you the sign (which) ye shall find,
A swaddled babe, lying in a manger.'

H. *The Song of the Angelic Host* (ii 14). This can only be translated in Hebrew as a couplet. The triplet

כְּבוֹד בְּמַרְוֹמִים לֵאלֹהִים |
וּבְאֶרְצָן שָׁלוֹם |
בְּאַנְשֵׁים רְצוֹן :

could be supported by none of the canons of Hebrew verse. As a couplet the present text would read as follows:—

כְּבוֹד בְּמַרְוֹמִים לֵאלֹהִים } Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
וּבְאֶרְצָן שָׁלוֹם בְּאַנְשֵׁים רְצוֹן : } Καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.

At a stretch the second line might be counted as a trimeter, but it is exceedingly clumsy and heavy.

If it may be taken for granted in view of what we have found elsewhere in these chapters, that we may expect to find here a regular metre, then we may suggest with some confidence that originally the song ran thus:—

כְּבוֹד בְּמַרְוֹם לֵאלֹהִים } Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
וּבְאֶרְצָן שָׁלוֹם בְּאַנְשֵׁים : } Καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

It would, then, seem that *εὐδοκίας* had been added interpretatively to *ἀνθρώποις* to further define it in much the same way, e. g. as *τῷ πνεύματι* has apparently been added in Matthew's version to the broad general statement *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί* (Matt. v 33). The fact of the variant readings in the Greek would support this theory. The omission of *εὐδοκίας* improves the balance, *אַנְשֵׁים* being a much better parallel to *לֵאלֹהִים* than is *אַנְשֵׁי רְצוֹן*. It should further be noticed how euphonious

the lines now are, extraordinarily so if *ἐν ὑψίστοις* be translated בְּמִרְיָם instead of בְּמִרוֹמִים (see Del.) as it legitimately may.

I. and J. The *Nunc Dimittis* we have already examined. It will be found, further, that the prophetic words of *Simeon's address to the Virgin* (ii 34-36) although they are not exactly lyrical are yet metrical.

לְהַחֲזִיקָה מִכֶּדֶר | לְנַפִּילָהּ וּלְתַקְוָמָה	}	Ἴδου οὗτος κείται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν
וּלְאֹת מְרִיכָה | לְרַבִּים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל		Πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον.
וְנִסְאָתָהּ בְּנִפְשָׁהּ תַּחֲתֶר חֶרֶב	}	Καὶ σοῦ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία,
לְהַנִּילֹת מִחֲשׁוֹבוֹת לְבָבוֹת רַבִּים :		Ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί.

As may be seen they form two tetrameter couplets, the balance of which is more apparent than the poetic parallelism. The succession of words ending in *וֹת* in the last line should be noted.

This practically closes our investigation. We have now dealt with all the sayings as distinct from the narrative matter, with exception of the brief sentences in the conversations of the Angel Gabriel with Zechariah and with the Virgin Mary, and in the dialogue between Mary and our Lord in the Temple, as these are for the most part too short for one confidently to pronounce them to be metrical.

In the latter case Mary's words may possibly have originally been a pentameter couplet, and our Lord's reply in the form of a trimeter triplet, but these cases are doubtful and can hardly be pressed. On the other hand they cannot safely be claimed as non-metrical prose. To sum up, I venture to suggest that I have made good my thesis, that the speeches and songs, ten in number, which are recorded in these two chapters, were originally written in the Hebrew language; and further, that in metre, balance, and structure they must have been composed in accordance with what are now generally agreed to have been the canons of ancient Hebrew prosody. They adhere, in fact, even in their present form, more closely to those canons than do many of the Psalms and Poems in the Old Testament, most of which have suffered, more or less, as regards literary form, at the hands of scribes and glossators.

What may be the significance, as regards historical criticism of the fact that, even apart from the four recognized songs, the great mass of the spoken matter was originally written in verse, I do not now propose to discuss.

Something, however, must be said as to the bearing of these facts on the original language of the narrative portions.

Had the four songs alone been found to be translations from Hebrew, it might have been urged (as on other grounds has been suggested by Spitta) that they were not an integral part of the narrative, and that at all events, they probably had not been composed by the writer of the narrative, but had merely been included by him in his history. Certain of the spoken portions are, however, so closely bound up with the actual narrative, e.g. the Angel Gabriel's addresses to the Virgin Mary, Elizabeth's welcome to Mary, the Angelic address to the Shepherds, that it is very difficult to believe that they ever existed apart from the narrative matter; while it is, on the other hand, exceedingly unlikely that, if any of these were written by the writer of the prose narrative, he wrote his prose in Aramaic, though he wrote his verse in Hebrew.

It would be even absurd to suggest that the narrative matter was originally Greek, though the spoken words were at first written in Hebrew.

Unless, then, definite proof of distinctive Aramaic is found in the narrative portion, it may reasonably be taken for granted that it was originally in the same language as both songs and speeches. In other words the Hebrew original of the latter is strong proof presumptive of the Hebrew original of the whole.

R. A. AYTON.

COMPOSITION AND DICTATION IN NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS.

RECENT criticism has enabled us in some degree to see the writers or compilers of the Synoptic Gospels and of Acts at their study tables,¹ so to speak, and to visualize the processes whereby one papyrus-sheet might be attached to another, anecdote to anecdote, or whereby there might be inserted in the half-completed roll of the book some 'great interpolation' perhaps newly come to hand, written upon a *τόμος*² or 'length' of sheets, or, later on, whereby the whole might be harmonized by notes of date or time, and by other editorial touches; all these and other allied processes by which the said books took their present shapes are becoming daily more familiar to us.

When we turn to other N.T. works the problem is not quite so simple. How were they actually set down? What was the actual method?³

¹ Not literally; see Birt *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* p. 2 (quoted by Sanday in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*).

² Birt *op. cit.* p. 35.

³ Sanday *op. cit.* gives a partial answer, on general lines, so far as 'pens, ink,

It was comparatively simple to piece together the results of a literary or biographical *ἔργον*¹; it was quite another thing to sit down to produce an original writing. What did the author of an Epistle do? Are we to conceive of him as sitting down with ink-horn and reed-pen² and papyrus sheets or roll, with stylus and tablets near by for his rough jottings, and after thinking out his subject and its presentation, setting at once to work to compose his Epistle, bit by bit, without further ado—either in his own hand, or by means of an amanuensis, and so continuing in the same fashion till the end was reached?³

And if so, what were the conditions either of personal composition,⁴ or of dictation to secretary or amanuensis? Would the same method prevail throughout each literary unit?⁵

The first answer to be given to these questions is that the best teachings of the ancients was cast as far as might be in an oral form. Either the Master lectured or talked, and the pupil, a Plato or an Arrian, took his words diligently down, or the author, desiring to write, sent for his slave-secretaries skilled in shorthand,⁶ and talked or 'orated' to his readers through them, as Herodotus must have 'talked' his history, and Cicero his letters and his philosophical or oratorical dialogues: the whole purpose being to approximate, as near as could be, to the conditions of mere *viva voce*—though of course literary—production. Hence it is that most that was of value in Greek, and much in Latin, was of the *viva voce* order. 'Homer' is simply the wandering minstrel before us 'Singing to one clear harp in divers tones', the dramatists employ, naturally enough, rapid dialogue or

and paper', the habits of the times, the absence of tables, the inconvenience of rolls for reference, &c., are concerned. C. R. Gregory *Canon of N. T.* pp. 301 ff, visualizes, in a more popular and less scholarly manner, St Paul and Tertius at work on 'Romans', so as to shew the actual conditions of writing at that time.

¹ As described by Papias who went round himself collecting incidents, and as suggested by the Muratorian Fragment regarding the Fourth Gospel: *Quarti (?) Evangeliorum Iohannes ex discipulis*; and as assumed by Dr Vernon Bartlet for his S. of the Third Gospel. 'S. was a peculiar form of written memoirs elicited by our Third Evangelist' (*Studies in the Synoptic Problem* xi p. 351).

² On which see Gregory *op. cit.*, and Birt *op. cit.* p. 198.

³ Gregory (*ibid.*) imagines Romans as dictated, with 'Timothy, Lucius, Jason, and Sospater probably all sitting round', in 'twenty or thirty sittings', with intervals for weaving tent coverings, to keep the wolf from the door.

⁴ 'Composition' is used here in the sense of the Latin *Compositio* (*Reinschrift*)—writing planned and set down by the same person.

⁵ Gregory (*op. cit.*) imagines Galatians as written straight out by Paul in his own hand,—despite his weak eyesight, which made him use amanuenses elsewhere—since the 'scolding Epistle' would best be private between writer and recipient. Romans he supposes to be entirely dictated, as already observed.

⁶ As in Cicero's time were also private persons; see Reid on *Pro Sulla* § 42 (men chosen by Cicero *celeritate scribendi*).

vigorous rhetoric, save for their lyric interludes.¹ Plato or Xenophon retails the 'table talk' of Socrates; Thucydides leaves narrative on any pretext to give a dialogue² or a speech; of the Latin satirists, Lucilius is the garrulous babbler,³ Horace writes *sermones* which are the vulgar conversations of everyday in rough hexameter verse; Virgil seizes every opportunity of becoming rhetorical; and so forth. The fact seems clear enough, when an ancient author wanted to write, his one anxiety seems to have been how he could best avoid writing; and the convenience of the slave-amanuensis enabled him so to avoid it, by allowing him to declaim, talk, even babble garrulously, at will,⁴ hardly feeling that he was making any special literary effort. But why should he desire at all to avoid actual writing, or composition, as much as he could? The answer is that he found it too hard. Difficult as it may seem to us to realize it, writing, as we do, with every literary convenience, and in a language which prescribes few rules of composition, it was a matter to cause much hesitation to any one, especially if not well versed in Greek, to sit down and 'compose' deliberately in a language whose literary laws were legion, and in which everything set to paper, unless a mere jotting or memorandum, was expected to be, and usually was, as finished and artistic a production as a Phidian marble or a Tanagran terra-cotta. We, *lege soluti*, set pen to paper glibly enough: a stylist of course will polish and repolish, cast and recast, but in ordinary written work we are satisfied with putting down more or less directly what we desire and mean: but the writer of ancient times was unpleasantly aware of volumes of literary instructions and stylistic regulations, to which he was expected to conform⁵: he

¹ Euripides is, indeed, 'wheeled out' in the ἐκκύκλημα, Aristoph. *Acharn.* 409, 'making a tragedy', but seemingly with the help of a secretary, the Θεράπων who appears on the stage.

² v. 85-113. The 'Melian Dialogue'.

³ So that his whole life was as much public property (*patuit*) as a votive tablet (Hor. *Sat.* ii 1. 33).

⁴ We must get rid of modern ideas as to dictation, which is used to save manual labour of the author—one purpose only of ancient dictation. We dictate to our typists pretty well what we should ourselves have composed and written, avoiding (except in private letters) the *viva voce* style.

⁵ These canons can be seen at their fullest in Hermogenes of Tarsus: other writers have survived, but there must have been a bewildering collection of literary guides. It is quite likely that the work of the early sophists was aimed rather at simplifying and assisting composition, rather than increasing its difficulty and complexity. Their systems of balance, μέν and δέ, λόγῳ and ἔργῳ, and so on, gave a simple enough scheme for the beginner to work upon. As long as Greek prose kept to epic diction (as did Herodotus and other early historians) all was smooth sailing; when a Heracleitus, or even a Thucydides, launched out on a new sea, he merely won for himself the title of 'Unintelligible'. The early sophists

moved therefore uneasily in set composition, and flew to dictation as approximating so near as might be to the ordinary spoken word, which pretended to be no more than it was. Hence, among other things, the great popularity of the diatribe as a means of philosophical instruction. It was good both for author and reader, easy to dictate and lively to read.

Let us now apply these considerations to the Pauline Epistles (and incidentally to other N. T. works).

Whatever amount of Hellenic culture St Paul absorbed at Tarsus (and he shews distinct traces of rhetorical training) he must always have felt himself moving on strange waters. Whenever he set himself to write in so 'academized' a language, he must, in the nature of things, have felt daunted and uneasy. There would therefore arise a natural shrinking from set composition, and a natural desire to economize such composition as much as might be, either by making use of work already written and lying to hand, or by adopting such obvious outlines of argument, set catenae of citations, or studied recurrences of pivot words such as would form a kind of natural frame or skeleton of the work to be composed. These compositions might be continued throughout an entire Epistle, but in the ordinary way they would naturally be used for prefaces, finales, and more studied and important passages—just as a Parliamentary speaker will read from manuscript his more critical statements.

Where he did not compose, St Paul would dictate: this would enable him to be conversational or oratorical at will. He could deliver some portion of a missionary sermon, or answer a series of questions, or parry and thrust with an imaginary opponent in the fashion of the diatribe,¹ at will.

And we can imagine a good reason for St Paul's liking for this vigorous, almost racy, style of the philosophic diatribe, or for the speech delivered, indeed, to the amanuensis and a few friends, but really projected into the circle of its recipients. His presence and uttered speech were disappointing²: but shielded behind his secretary he became (as many nervous speakers and administrators become) full of fire and thunder

ἡστραπτει, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.³

appeared, and offered to teach their pupils a new and easy way to compose with comparative security.

¹ On this see Bultmann *Der Styl der Paulinischen Predigt und die Kynisch-stoische Diatribe* Göttingen 1910, or Wendland *Die Hellenisch-Römische Kultur*. A writer dictating diatribe is doing something clearly artificial, but not more so than the modern politician who delivers to the interviewing journalist an impassioned harangue, intended *urbi et orbi*.

² 2 Cor. x 10.

³ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 531.

If this line of argument from the nature of the case be at all correct it must stand the test of critical study.

Let us consider therefore the Epistle to the Romans, whose authenticity is practically beyond question.¹

To distinguish between composition and dictation in the course of the Epistle is a task not admitting absolute certainty; but there are obvious tests. First, there is the nature of the passage²; next, its rhythm³; next, its syntax,⁴ and last, the general construction,⁵ which must differ where the author has his work, up to the point so far reached, set down before him, from that which results from mere *viya voce* dictation.

In our Epistle, then, i 1-7 shews clear evidence of careful autograph composition. Note the opening period—smooth and clear—built upon the participial and relative constructions usual in set pieces of a dedicatory or prefatory type.⁶ Observe also, what is a mark of composition, the Pindaric linking of word to word⁷: ἀπόστολος (1), ἀποστολήν (5), ἀφωρισμένος (1), ὁρισθέντος (4), κλητός (1), κλητοί (6).

To make this point clearer it will be well to consider some obvious parallels.

The first is the Preface to the Fourth Gospel—a work clearly dictated in the main; its last two verses appear to be notes by the amanuenses; the last verse a kind of tired expression of thanksgiving, parallel to the thanksgivings common in monastic MSS, such as

τέλος δὲ δωκὼς Χριστὲ σοὶ χάριν φέρω.

¹ Jülicher *Die Schriften des N. T.* vol. ii p. 217 'Die Echtheit des Römerbriefs kann nur jemand bestreiten der die Persönlichkeit des Paulus aus der Geschichte zu streichen wagt'.

² This has been already discussed: prefaces, close woven arguments, comments on citations, special exhortation, and conclusions and climaxes are most likely to have been composed as they stand by the author.

³ This is a large subject and here must only be touched upon: but, in so musical a language as Greek, any piece of studied composition is practically bound to shew a musical and literary rhythm; while dictated work, though not necessarily unrhymical, will shew a more spontaneous and less artificial type. Reference may be made to an article on the subject by the present writer in this JOURNAL April 1916.

⁴ Dictation shews itself in anacolutha, mild or violent, or *addenda* and *corrigenda*, as in i Cor. i 16. The anacolutha in the Pauline Epistles, as in Thucydides, seem to arise from rapid dictation with insufficient revision.

⁵ See the illustrations from the Prefaces to the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Ephesians.

⁶ See Norden *Agnostos Theos* Appendix on 'Participial and Relative Styles'.

⁷ Not mere repetition, which may often be a proof of unrevised dictation. In Virgil *Aeneid* xii, lines 684 and 687, we have for example *mons*, first a mountain, then a boulder which falls down the mountain side; a slip easy enough if dictating, but very unlikely where the author was composing, and had his work before him all the time. That the *Aeneid* was dictated is next to certain, that it was unrevised quite certain.

But the Preface is almost certainly composition. Note how the writer hangs upon and turns upon his pivot words, clinging to one foothold until he has secured another: ὁ λόγος . . . ὁ λόγος (1), τὸν θεὸν . . . θεός (1), ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . ἐν ἀρχῇ (1) (2), ἐγένετο . . . ἐγένετο . . . γέγονεν (3), ζωὴ . . . ζωὴ (4), φῶς . . . φῶς (4) (5), μαρτυρίαν . . . μαρτυρήσῃ . . . μαρτυρήσῃ (7) (8), φωτὸς . . . φῶς . . . φωτὸς . . . φῶς . . . φωτίζει (7) (8) (9), κόσμον . . . κόσμῳ . . . κόσμος . . . κόσμος (9) (10), and so on. This is certainly the work of a careful composer, seeking to rise to the height of his great argument, but certainly, as a composer pure and simple, timid and unconfident, and making his way from thought to thought, and word to word, like the 'swimming vapour' of the glen which 'puts forth an arm, and creeps from pine to pine, and loiters, slowly drawn'.

Our next parallel is the Proem to Ephesians (perhaps, like Hebrews, a letter which is entirely the result of composition).

How could a rhapsody like this have ever been dictated, as it stands, without inextricable confusion? It seems, in fact, even as composed, to be perilously near the inconsequent. Had it been originally dictated, and then drastically revised, it would certainly have suffered considerable pruning and ordering. As we have it, it is a Pindaric composition, the work of one labouring to express great thoughts, and yet obliged to creep from stepping-stone to stepping-stone to avoid being swept away by the spate of his own torrent. The stepping-stones are not of the same kind as those we have just seen in the Fourth Gospel; they are prepositional phrases—ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ, ἐν ᾧ, and others; without which writer and reader were lost indeed. The whole is the work of one who dare not let go his Ariadne-thread in his maze of language. In point of fact, the whole preface looks as if the writer had plotted out his pattern like that of some lace work or embroidery, thus (words serving as links in the pattern are printed one under the other)

- | | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| i | 3 | Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς . . . | Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ |
| | | ὁ εὐλογήσας . . . | |
| | | ἐν εὐλογίᾳ . . . (the <i>sphere</i>) | ἐν Χριστῷ |
| | 4 | καθὼς . . . (the <i>basis</i>) | |
| | | εἶναι ἡμᾶς (the <i>purpose</i>) | |
| | 5 | προορίσας ἡμᾶς | διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ |
| | | κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν (<i>basis</i>) | |
| | | εἰς ἔπαινον . . . (<i>purpose</i>) | |

and so on, ἐν, κατὰ, εἰς, sphere, basis, purpose, recurring throughout. The writer provides himself and his readers with a running analysis. Probably a rough outline was actually sketched on the wax tablets.¹

¹ The ὑπομήματα ἅπερ ἀναγράφουσιν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι (Galen xvii p. 936 k). Small papyrus-rolls might be used for these notes (ὑποτυπώσεις), *ibid.* p. 1001. From

The third parallel is the Preface to the First Epistle of St Peter, which runs more easily than the two former, but has the same marks of studied and almost timid composition. Word leads on to word in such a way that we feel sure the author kept his own work before him as it took shape.

ἀναγεννήσας, ζῶσαν, ἀναστάσεως (3),
 ἐκ νεκρῶν (3), ἄφθαρτον (4),
 ἀγαλλιᾶσθε (6), ἀγαλλιᾶτε (8),
 πίστεως (7), πιστεύοντες (8),
 προφηῇται (10), προφητεύσαντες (11), προμαρτυρόμενον (11),
 ἐδύλου (11), ἀπεκαλύφθη (12), ἀνηγγέλη (12),
 πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ (11), πνεύματι ἀγίῳ (12).

Evidence taken from what we may call the plotting out of the work is backed by evidence from literary rhythm, which, however, cannot be given here.¹

We gather, then, that Rom. i 1-7 is a piece of set composition, straight from the author's hands.

i 8-17. The next section we cannot feel so sure of. It is a personal passage, quite simple in construction, working up to a citation by way of climax. It is probably dictated. There would be no need to sit down and compose so simple a declaration; the personal element enters better into dictated work. The *πρῶτον μὲν* of v. 8 seems to point to this: the set preface is done, the Epistle proper begins, the amanuensis is called to order. In 1 Cor. i 4 there is a similar *εὐχαριστῶ*; but only a salutation—not, as here, a salutation turned into a preface—precedes: this salutation would be dictated with the rest, so there is no *πρῶτον μὲν*.

i 18-32. At verse 18, in any case, we are in the realm of dictated work. Verses 18-32 form a part of a vigorous missionary sermon, possibly as actually delivered on some occasion. It takes the form of historical summary, as do other missionary sermons (Acts ii 14 ff, vii 2 ff, xiii 16 ff *al.*), but is thrown into rhetorical form and certainly would be more easily declaimed than written down direct.² It was linked to the previous passage by *ἀποκαλύπτεται . . . θεοῦ* of verse 17, and this verse may, indeed, have served as the text of the discourse. The sermon concludes with a catalogue of vices (29 ff)—of a kind fairly

Birt *op. cit.* p. 197, note 3. He remarks (p. 201) 'Die Tafel enthält immer nur das Brouillon. Auf ihr schreibt daher wer meditiert und konzipiert.'

¹ See foot-note 3 p. 292 above.

² There are plenty of these 'concealed' speeches in the N. T.—part, no doubt, having been actually delivered on a previous occasion, which may account for the seeming irrelevance of some N. T. speeches—St Stephen's, for example. Material used in some other context is made use of, more or less as it stood. See two good examples, 2 Cor. iv 6-10 and v 20-vi 10.

common in stoic preaching (see Bultmann *op. cit.* and Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum N.T.* on the present passage). With the opening of the second chapter we are quite certainly in the region of dictation, for the author plunges immediately into the well-known style of the philosophic diatribe.¹ To what extent he would be guided by a rough outline on wax or papyrus we cannot say. In 1 Cor. at least from ch. vii onwards he holds in his hands a letter awaiting reply, and takes it point by point. Here he probably marshals his main headings beforehand, and then delivers his 'plain talk' to his amanuensis, with perhaps other friends grouped about. Uneasy and laborious composition is left aside: joyfully and freely St Paul plunges into the style of the market-place—sharp question, answer, repartee, sarcasm, and all the well-known 'short ways' with hecklers—parable, analogy, apologue, and clinching citations from recognized authorities. How could one sit down and write this in cold blood? It is essentially *viva voce*. The author's tongue is the pen of a ready writer.

To this style (apart from large passages in the present Epistle) must be attributed a good deal of 1 Cor., certainly ch. xv, some of xiii, iv 11-13, 2 Cor. iv 7-12, vi 3-10, Gal. iii,² &c. Here the presence of the 'Fingierter Gegner' is made clear from the outset.

iii 19-26. At this point there is a clear break in the style. The diatribe has closed with a long citation, after its fashion. Directly after this citation comes a quieter passage, itself opening with a citation, which takes us back in thought to i 17. The impression which the present passage leaves is that it is a set passage of comment upon the said citation, and very possibly comes from some early manual of useful citations and comments, or from a collection made and previously worked up by St Paul himself.³ He stops the dictation, and either reads off or hands over the MS of this appropriate passage, after which he launches at once into the vivid diatribe style (iii 27), which continues to iv 15.

iv 16-v 21. At iv 16 the heavier periodic argumentative style, previously seen in i 8-17 and iii 19-26, is resumed. This style, however, which must have been employed in oral instruction as a change from

¹ On which see authorities quoted, foot-note 1 p. 291.

² C. R. Gregory's notion that Galatians was entirely 'composed' will not bear the test of criticism. It is nearly all of a markedly *viva voce* stamp. vi 11 is the author's sign manual, making it as good as certain that the rest of the Epistle had been put on paper by a secretary (2 Thess. iii 17).

³ iii 21-26 is singled out by Sanday and Headlam as much resembling the style of Ephesians. It certainly stands apart from its context here. In Ephesians we have an example of the citation and running comment, i 15-23, as in 1 Cor. xv 23-34, while the same thing is common in the 'speeches' of Acts, and runs through much of Hebrews and 1 Peter. Elsewhere in Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians citations are mostly used in the diatribe fashion, merely to illustrate or to clinch.

and a foil to the diatribe, would lend itself well enough to dictation. iv 16-25 is citation with running comment (on which see remark above, on iii 19-26). The concluding passage of this section, v 12-21, certainly suggests the treatise (see especially vv. 18, 19), but v. 12 with its anacoluthon as clearly suggests dictation. It must remain as a possibility that vv. 13-17 are from a previously written MS, and are either handed in to Tertius for insertion as they stand or dictated to him from the MS, v. 12 being a hasty introductory note, which should have continued in the strain of v. 18 b. Possibly the οὗτως of 12 b misled the amanuensis: he believed it to be the οὗτως of the expected apodosis.¹

vi 1-xi 36. At vi 1 we are again in the thrust and parry of the diatribe, up to xi 36.² The citations of ix 7 ff are of the extempore-preaching kind, and are clipped, fused, or otherwise adapted to their immediate purpose. They are used quite differently from those occurring in the 'citation-and-comment' passages.

xii, xiii. Chapters xii and xiii contain—as customary towards the end of an Epistle—the practical conclusions, with regard to certain definite features of the recipients. They are restrained, and though seemingly dictated along with the bulk of the Epistle have been carefully prepared and are perhaps dictated with the help of notes on the wax tablets. The citations which occur are used, as in the diatribe, to clinch, and the first section, ch. xii, concludes with a very eloquent appeal, rhetorical

¹ We must come to allow a good deal more to the amanuensis than we have done hitherto. The slave-amanuensis might make foolish dictation errors of the ordinary type. The confidential friend-amanuensis would be of quite a different psychology. How far he cautiously, or uncautiously, obtrudes himself is a question for separate discussion. A possible case is Acts xiv 21, where the amanuensis includes himself among the μαθηταί—'he told us that we must through much suffering enter the Kingdom of God'—other such touches are possibly viii 2 of this Epistle, *ἡλευθέρωσέν σε*, some strange cases of *ἡμεῖς* for *ὑμεῖς* (-ὦν, -ῖν), e. g. xv 7, and perhaps Eph. iv 32, v 2. The secretary, as in this Epistle, might insert his own salutation (and perhaps postscript) and conceivably might interject *currente calamo* in the text (is 1 Cor. vii 40b a case of this? *ἀδῶ* comes oddly from St Paul). In Phil. iv 3 the bearer of the letter, Epaphroditus, is probably addressed (so Lightfoot *ad loc.*). Possibly he acted as amanuensis too, and simply copied down the request as part of the Epistle. The confidential secretary would probably do his own revising, and errors once made might well remain.

² Bultmann (*op. cit.*) singles out especially viii 31 ff, xi 28 ff as shewing 'begeisterten Schwung'. 'Sie klingen nicht wie Briefstil, sondern wie begeisterte Rede . . . in dieser Weise redete Paulus in der Gemeindeversammlung.' This is true. In the so-called Epistles we have—along with passages obviously the result of composition—speeches, argument, talks, exactly as they must have been delivered on the missionary journeys or earlier at Antioch or Damascus, where the Jews were 'mightily confounded'. See also, to a similar effect, Moulton *Cambridge Biblical Essays* p. 452: 'The letters are in colloquial Greek for the best of reasons, they were spoken and not written.' This, however, is hardly true of any entire letter.

in style and design, and likely enough to be a reminiscence of some peroration, itself based on the Sermon on the Mount or on some similar discourse of Jesus.

The section ch. xiii seems to be inserted to meet some special question as to authority affecting the community at Rome. It has, however, all the appearance of a set discourse on the text 'Render unto Caesar . . .', *vv.* 1-7 dealing with our duties to Caesar, and *vv.* 8-14 with our duties to God.

xiv 1-xv 13. This passage is in a less exalted key, and apparently is a running commentary upon special troubles that had arisen in Rome. It reminds us of the replies to questions in 1 Cor. It ends with citations and a blessing.¹

xv 14-33. A further personal section, in the higher style but not necessarily suggesting composition. It closes with a formal exhortation and blessing (*Παρακαλῶ δὲ . . . ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης*) as in xvi 17-20, see also 1 Thess. v 14 ff, 2 Thess. iii 6 ff.

xvi 1-16. A commendation and personal salutations (on which see below).

xvi 17-20. An exhortation and blessing like that of ch. xv and a farewell.

xvi 21-23. A note by the amanuensis,² on his own behalf and that of certain companions.

xvi 24. His farewell (absent in some MSS).

xvi 25-27. Final blessing.

Putting aside for the present the problem connected with ch. xvi 1 (or 3) to 16 (or 20), we must notice that we have in these two latter chapters two 'exhortations' (*Παρακαλῶ . . . ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης*) of a personal tone, but such as might well be inserted at any point of the Epistle,³ and one formal farewell (in the form of an ascription), to which a parallel occurs in Eph. iii 20. The ascription, as is well known,

¹ On the question of a break at end of ch. xiv see below.

² Possibly all three verses, or four, if we read *v.* 24, are his. Van Manen (*Enc. Bibl.* art. 'Tertius') strangely quarrels with this most reasonable note by Tertius. He considers the mention of an amanuensis somewhere to be necessary to the pseud-epigraphon. It is surely natural enough. We are dealing not with a slave but with a confidential secretary. He and his friends join in a note of good wishes, just as naturally as Dorothy Wordsworth adds her own postscript to letters of her brother's dictation. Tertius's companion Timothy was perhaps literally his *συνεργός*, as sharing in this secretarial work: Quartus was, appropriately, Tertius's brother. [Was Secundus of Acts xx 4 another of the family? He was of Thessalonica, as was probably Jason (Acts xvii 5); while Sopater was also a Macedonian (Acts xx 4). The names may have been Jewish as well as Roman.]

³ We are reminded of the 'Proems of Demosthenes', written (as is generally believed) by himself, and similar to those which we actually find him employing. Of these some are particular, some are general, in tone.

occurs in some texts at the end of ch. xiv: in G. there is a blank space after ch. xiv. Why these three, if not four, endings to one letter? If we add xvi 20 b, there are five. Of these, two, xvi 17-20 and xvi 20 b, may doubtless be disposed of if we regard them as included in the hypothetical Ephesian letter of ch. xvi. But if we regard the present Epistle as one and continuous, only one simple explanation¹ suggests itself. It is this: that the duty of rounding off the work in hand lay with the amanuensis: the author might be called away or otherwise interrupted. For this purpose it is likely that he dictated, at an early stage, one or two good conclusions²; and there is some likelihood that the passages beginning Παρακαλῶ δὲ . . . and closing with ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐιρήνης . . . would excellently serve the purpose, as would also a formal ascription such as that of xvi 25-27. The amanuensis might well err in imagining that he had reached the conclusion of his task—the wish, perhaps, the father to the thought. At the end of the detailed instructions of xiv, arising apparently from questions sent from Rome, he might well attach his final ascription. St Paul had, perhaps, genuinely ended his letter there. But some opportunity occurred for its continuance, and hence we get ch. xv, which has the appearance of a general commentary upon the particular details of ch. xiv. We can imagine St Paul reading the Epistle, so far as written, over, and on this perusal fresh ideas suggest themselves. He calls for Tertius, and dictates ch. xv, at the end of which Tertius attaches a passage held in readiness for any similar occasion. Then St Paul decides to give a personal tone to the Epistle. There is the bearer to be commended, and greetings to be sent. He therefore dictates ch. xvi 1-16,³ where Tertius adds his second 'reserve' conclusion. After this Tertius and his friends add their greetings, and a finale is added to the whole in the shape of the ascription already used at the end of ch. xiv. In his first copy—which was probably required for immediate use—Tertius would have things as they stood. In a second recension he would omit the former ascription.

We may now make a very brief summary of the process by which the Epistle had its being.

First the author writes a literary salutation on conventional lines with

¹ See Sanday *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* p. 26 'As a rule, the simpler the cause, provided it is adequate, the more likely it is to be true'.

² The present writer, in teaching schoolboys to write Essays, always urges 'Write your conclusions first'.

³ If the passage xvi 1 (or 3) - 16 (or 20) is an Ephesian letter, there is nothing to suppose but that Tertius, in making up the roll finally, caught up among other *σελίδες* one intended to be left aside for a separate messenger and a different destination. Stranger things have happened in modern times and under modern circumstances.

a rough *résumé* of the contents of the letter. This he hands to Tertius, and with it, or shortly afterwards, one or two set passages serviceable as conclusions. These are perhaps discussed with the 'helpers' who are in attendance. Next he either writes and hands in, or dictates in a literary style, a personal passage (i 8-17). This section is almost exactly twice the length of the first section, the length of both being, perhaps, subject to the size of the available papyrus sheets.¹ Now, warming to his subject, he delivers, perhaps as already once delivered, a vigorous missionary sermon, taken down, perhaps, at full speed in shorthand. Next an argumentative passage (ii 1-iii 19) in diatribe fashion, Tertius (no mere machine) being associated perhaps with the author in some of the first persons plural² (e.g. iii 7, 8). At iii 19 a carefully composed pendant to i 14-17 is handed in; at iii 27 dictation begins again, at iv 16 another composed *σέλις* may be made use of (we cannot be sure of this section) continuing to iv 25 or even v 21, but in any case at vi, we are in dictated 'diatribe' to xi 36. Here the polemic of the Epistle is over. There remains the summing up, chapters xii and xiii are thought over and carefully dictated; similarly xiv, where at one time the Epistle closed.

For some reason it was reopened, and xv 1-30 results—again an apparent ending, and a proper finale attached. Still xvi is added (or attached by error; in the former case 17-20 form another set conclusion), and then the Epistle is really done, Tertius adds a note on his own account and his friends', and as a complete finale adds the ascription (25-27).

From this short review and analysis, if in any degree accurate, certain conclusions seem to follow. First, we must be much more cautious than ever in using arguments from style. Between studied composition and rough *viva voce* extemporizing was a great gulf. One whole Epistle might be composed, another dictated; it would be difficult to ascribe them to the same author. Styles, moreover, were assumed *ad rem*.

Secondly, we must expect as little originality as may be. An ancient author asked himself, before originating, 'Have I, or has any one else, said this already?'³

¹ These, of course, differed, but probably Tertius would have got in a number of sheets of a size.

² The whole question of 'we' in N. T. books still needs much discussion. May not the inclusion of the amanuensis, either by the author or by himself, often account for it? E.g. in Acts xi 27 (D) the *συνεστραμμένον ἡμῶν* may quite well be a touch of the amanuensis, who recalls his own presence (cf. xiv 22). On the use of the First Person Plural specially in Travel documents see Norden *Agnostos Theos*.

³ This point can hardly be overdone. The Attic orators supply the best instances of its truth. Aeschines, in *de F. L.*, imports a long passage from Andocides, *περὶ εἰρήνης*, and does not trouble to make it fit his immediate purpose. See also

We expect therefore to find use made of other letters, missionary sermons, catenae of citations, liturgical fragments, and commonplaces generally.¹

Thirdly, we must allow more to the self-intrusion, skill, or mechanical stupidity² of the amanuensis, and expect to find simple causes for complex errors.³ When St Paul himself takes the pen he advertises the fact (1 Cor. xvi 21, Gal. vi 11, Col. iv 18, 2 Thess. iii 17).⁴ His secretary may often have been hurried, or have misunderstood; or revision might be hindered by the sudden arrival of a suitable messenger.⁵

Fourthly, a great deal of minute literary investigation yet remains to be done in the books of the N. T., by which we may part off composition and dictation, high style and low style.⁶

Demosthenes *Timocrates*, where a long passage from the *Androton* is inserted. There are many other instances.

¹ As a result, we shall expect N. T. books to be largely a careful patchwork, excepting some who bear their unity on the surface—e.g. the Epistle to the Hebrews (note its literary rhythm) and a good portion of the Fourth Gospel. The component parts will be of one or other of these kinds:

A. Compositions (*Reinschriften*).

(1) Simple—i.e. artless, naïve—'folk-anecdotes' usually brief and self-contained, or brief citations of or reports of 'sayings'. These will have formed the nucleus of the Synoptic Gospels (see Dr Latimer Jackson in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 452, where he suggests, following Tiersch, that the 'parchments' of 2 Timothy iv 13 may have been such fragments).

(2) Elaborated, i.e. the Passion Narratives (or portions thereof) or some of the Discourses of the Fourth Gospel; Prefaces, Conclusions, and passages written and held in readiness for use when required (see p. 297 above note 3).

B. Dictated.

(1) Simple, i.e. conversational passage, in the style of the diatribe, replies to answers in letters, &c., simple pieces of argumentation.

(2) Elaborated, i.e. speeches, some larger discourses, and some openings and conclusions which have probably been previously worked up on the wax tablets (p. 293 note 1). It will not always be easy to distinguish between these different strata. The study of literary rhythm will help (see p. 292 note 3) as well as that of language and syntax. Anacolutha will generally be a mark of dictation, long periods, of composition, especially where we can see the author using words already written as a guide to the choice of following words.

² See 1 Cor. i 16 when the secretary jots down the afterthought just as received, without attempting to harmonize it with the previous verses. In St John vi 22 the secretary probably confused ἀλλὰ and ἄλλα, as in the present Epistle v 12, he mistook οὗτος for the beginning of the apodosis.

³ The 'four-chapter' hypothesis of 2 Cor. is made more possible, if we assume some error in piecing together the papyrus sheets.

⁴ Where οὕτω γράφω explains the 'large letters' of Gal. vi 11.

⁵ The 'Epistle of Jude' was to have been more elaborate (verse 3) but some emergency caused a brief letter to be sent hastily.

⁶ For this a N. T. in κῶλα and κόμματα, as desiderated by Norden *Agnostos Theos* Anhang v, is almost an essential.

Fifthly, we shall in the written work of St Paul see more clearly than before the man of action. He writes, in great part, as he preached or talked or argued. We shall no longer wonder at his sudden 'going off at tangents' or his *anacolutha*; they bring us nearer the man and tell us how he spoke and moved, as well as thought, in lecture-room or market-place.

E. ILIFF ROBSON.

FRAGMENTS OF THE *DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM* IN GREEK.

I OWE to two persons the privilege of making known to scholars this valuable addition to our *apparatus criticus* for the original text of the *Didascalia*. The first of these is Dr J. Rendel Harris, who years ago gave me a preliminary copy of most of it, when the fragments were his own property, and then, quite recently, helped me to obtain access to these for fuller study. The next is their present owner, Lord Peckover, of Wisbech, who most generously put them at my disposal for leisurely examination. To both I would express sincere thanks, as also to Dr B. P. Grenfell, who gave me liberally of his time and skill in coping with difficulties which the decipherment and conjectural reconstruction of the text at times present.¹

The fragments in question were found by Dr Rendel Harris in the binding of a Syriac copy of the Gospels from the church at Harpout. The Syriac MS he assigned to the fifth century: the fragments themselves he assigned to the fourth. The latter date can hardly be justified palaeographically, to judge by comparison with the biblical specimens of fourth-century writing given in Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction to the New Testament*, and Dr E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palaeography*. The formation of certain crucial letters points rather to the fifth or earlier sixth century, a conclusion supported by Dr Grenfell's judgement based on more general grounds. Among Scrivener's facsimiles of biblical MSS the fragments have affinity chiefly with Cod. Alexandrinus (A) and Cod. Cotton (N), of the fifth and sixth centuries respectively: and a date about A. D. 500 would suit the facts as well as any. As N is one of the purple *codices*, which as a class von Soden² traces to a region where the text of the Great Cappadocians prevailed, we might expect kindred handwriting in a MS once at Harpout.

Our two fragments belong to a single vellum page, written in double

¹ This applies also to the fifth or sixth century fragment of 1 Tim. (iii 16^b-iv 2) which the same series of fragments includes. See *infra* pp. 309 ff.

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columns of twenty-four lines, averaging fifteen letters to a line. Dr Rendel Harris deciphered the greater part of the larger fragment, which preserves the half-lines of one column on either side of it (though the bottom line is wanting save for the tops of a few letters); and he identified the text as that of the *Apostolic Constitutions* iii 5. 6 (περὶ ἐνσωματώσεως)—6. 3 (μὴ μερά) touching the ministry of Widows. But further, my own more prolonged study of the smaller fragment (of some ten half-lines), with Dr Grenfell's help in reading its far obscurer writing, shews that it formed the latter part of the companion column of the same page. The text of the *recto* of this fragment led up to that on the *recto* of the larger fragment, while that on its *verso* followed the matter on the latter's *verso*, after a lacuna of fourteen lines. This is itself a useful result. But what is of more importance is the extra evidence thus afforded:—

(1) that the text is not that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but rather of the older basis used by its compiler for this part of his work;

(2) that it agrees in the main with the Greek presupposed by the Syriac version (S) of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the writing in question.

The one unfortunate thing about this otherwise happy find is that the old Latin (iv–v cent.) version (L) of the work is here lacking, save for a line or so at the very end. Had it been otherwise, we should have been in a position of great advantage for testing yet further, by independent objective evidence, the mutual relations of the two versions of the Greek *Didascalia*, on the one hand, and also the relations of the forms of the original which they represent (possibly at slightly different stages of transmission) to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (AC), and again to the text of the *Didascalia* used by its compiler about A.D. 375. The study of all these relations is now greatly facilitated by the admirable edition of the relevant texts in F. X. Funk's *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, where the two works appear on opposite pages, with the additions of the later compiler or 'Constitutor' indicated by underlining. For checking the exact Syriac behind Funk's Latin rendering (where the old Latin version is wanting), the German version in *Die Syrische Didaskalia*, by Hans Achelis and Johannes Flemming, is also at times of service.

After these preliminaries, the text of the fragments as deciphered by Dr Grenfell and myself¹—with aid from the other witnesses which have generally enabled me to reconstruct the missing parts of the lines with practical certainty—may now be presented to the reader, along with the parallel sources for comparison.

[For the notation used in the text see p. 307].

¹ In only a very few cases, chiefly indicated in notes as doubtful, have I ventured on a reading without Dr Grenfell's authority.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii 5. 6-6. 4).

καὶ στραφεύτες ῥήξουσιν
 ὑμᾶς. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ
 οἱ ἄπιστοι
 τὸν περὶ

Χριστοῦ λόγον οὐ δεόντως,

ἀλλ' ἐνδεώς,

καὶ μάλιστα

τὸν περὶ ἐνωματώσεως
 ἢ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ,
μνηστῆρας χλευ-
ασουσιν μᾶλλον ὥς ψευδῇ ἢ
δοξάσουσιν,

καὶ ἐνοχος

ἔσται τῆς προπετείας ἢ πρεσβυτίας καὶ
τῆς βλασφημίας, καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ κληρονομήσει.
Οὐαὶ δέ, φησὶν, δι' οὗ

¹ ἔστι probably for ἔσται, as a future follows as well as precedes : so AC.

The Greek Fragments.

The Syriac *Didasalia* (based on Funk).

adversus vos convertantur ac dirumpant
 vos. Cum enim gentes
 cognoscere volentes (or who are being
 instructed) audiunt

¹ υμᾶς
τ . . ap. [. . . .

verbum Dei, si non dicitur *firmiter*

prouit

deceat, in aedifi-
 cationem aeternae
 vitae, et praesertim
 quia a muliere
 eis dicitur

de incarnatione *Domini nostri*
 ac de passione Christi,
 derident et contem-
 nunt potius quam
 laudibus celebrant ver-
 bum *doctrinae*,
 et rea

fit magni iudicii peccati.

τως οὐ[τε εἰς τὴν οἰ
κοδομη]ν τῆς αἰωνι
ου ζωῆς [καὶ μαλισ
τα δια τοῦ]πο γυναι
κος λαλεῖσθαι το
γ² π[ε]ρει σαβ[ε]κωθεντος
καὶ παβη[τ]ου Χριστου
μνηστῆ[ρ]σαντες χλευ
ασουσιν μ[α]λλον ἢ
δοξάσωσ[ιν] τοῖς λο
γοῖς τῆς π[ρ]εσβυτε
ρας· εὐχ[ος] (ὅε αὐτῇ)
ἐστι¹ ἀμαρτ[ί]ας (καὶ γινω)
σεται πολὺν [το κριμα ὑ]
παρχειν ἐ[κ] (ἵπεν γαρ)

¹ ἔστι probably for ἔσται, as a future follows as well as precedes : so AC.

The Syriac *Didascalia* (based on Funk).

Non decet ergo *neque necessarium* est

ut mulieres doc-

eant, et presertim

de nomine

Christi et de redemp-

tionē passionis eius.

Nam non ad hoc estis constitutae,

O mulieres, ut doc-

eatis, ac maxime

viduae, sed \wedge ut *oretis*

ac rogetis *Dominum* Deum :

quia ipse [dominus *Deus*] Iesus Christus
magister noster nos

The Greek Fragments.

κς εκ πολ[υλογίας

ουκ εκφει[ξη αμαρ

τίας ² ουκ [ουν δει

ουτε γυναι[κας διδας

καλους ει[ναι μαλισ

τα περιε το[υ ονομα

τος κυ και τ[ου (λυτη)]

ρειου παθ[ους αυτου].

Ου γαρ κατα[κεισθε ω

γυναικες [εις το δι

δασκειν κ[αι μαλισ

τα αι χηραι [αλλα μο

νον θν προσαιτειν' ³

κα[ι γαρ αυτος ο διδας
² καλος (οτε)] ημ[ας] [τους

The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii 5. 6-6. 4).

τὸ ὄνομά μου.¹ βλασφημεῖται

ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν οὖν

γυναικας διδάσ-

κειν

ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ

ἀλλὰ μό-

νον προσεύχεσθαι καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων

ἐπακούειν.

καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσ-

καλος ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός,

ἡμᾶς

¹ So AC in i 10. 2, where LS have *nomen Dei*. Here the quotation hangs on τῆς βλασφημίας above, which is peculiar to AC and probably secondary.

² A stop probably follows, but is obscured by ink stains. The quotation is Prov. x 19, and the preceding verse is cited in iii 11. 2, both in the Syriac and in the Greek.

³ θ is pretty certain, and π likely enough; ν is hardly to be made out. Dr Grenfell thinks θ. τ. possible, εἰς τ[ο] rather less so. My restoration is suggested by S here and in vii 1 'adlocuantur Dominum', προσλαλῶν τῷ κυρίῳ AC.

duodecim misit
ut doceamus popul-
um et gentes : erant
autem nobiscum dis-
cipulae, Maria
Magdalene et Ma-
ria filia Iacobi et
altera Maria ; neque
emisit ut
nobiscum docerent
populum.
X Si enim necesse fuisset
ut mulieres docerent,
magister noster
has ipsas
iussisset nobiscum
docere (*unterweisen*).
Sciat autem
vidua se altare
Dei esse, et

τούς δώδεκα πέμψας
μαθητεύσαι τὸν λα-
ὸν καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, γυναῖκας οὐδαμοῦ ἐξαπέ-
στειλαν.

συνὴν γὰρ ἡμῶν ἢ τε μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ αἱ
ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ, ἔτι δὲ Μαρία ἡ
Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μα-
ρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ
Μάρθα κ. Μαρία . . . καὶ Σαλώμῃ
καὶ ἑτεραί τινες. (Cf. above for
γυναῖκας οὐδαμοῦ ἐξαπέστειλαν.)

Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον
γυναῖξιν διδάσκειν
αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐκέλευσε
πρῶτος καὶ ταύταις
σὺν ἡμῖν
κατηχεῖν τὸν λαόν· εἰ γὰρ κτλ. (1 Cor. xi 3).
γνωρίζτω οὖν ἡ
χήρα ὅτι θυσιαστή
μόν ἐστι θεοῦ, καὶ

¹ The point after *Σαλώμῃν* is not really visible ; but the space is rubbed, and it seems best to assume it in view of the point after *μαθητῶν*, where the enumeration begins.

Words in italics or underlined are peculiar to a single witness.
 [] in the first column denotes absence from Cod. Harris of the Syriac.

„ in the second column denotes the filling of a gap in the fragments where the wording is fairly assured by comparison with the other sources.

< > means that only the substance can plausibly be supplied as indicated, either from the other sources or from the context itself.

In the following English rendering of our fragments italics mark what is peculiar to the fragments against the other two witnesses.

‘For when the Gentiles . . . hear the word of God [neither] as it [ought to be] no[r unto the] building up of [eternal] life, [and especial]ly because by a woman is spoken [that] touching [Christ] incarnate and subject to suffering, in derision they will scoff [rather than] give glory [at the wo]rds of the woman elder; [*but she*] will be guilty of sin [and] *shall [know] that much is [the judgement] in store. [For] the Lord [said], Owing to much [speaking] thou shalt not escape sin(s).*

‘[It is] not, [then, right] either that women be teachers, [especial]ly touching the name of the Lord and [His redemp]tive passion. For ye have not been appointed, O women, [in order] to teach, and [especial]ly widows, [but only to importune] God. [For the Teacher himself (*when*)] He sent us [the twelve] to disciple the Peo[ple and] the Gentiles, *having* along with [us *chosen out*] also [female] dis[ciples]—Mary [Magdal]ene and M[ary of] James and Salo[me]—He did not send them forth with [us] to disciple *or [save] the world.* [For if it were] needful that women should [teach], our Teacher [himself] would have bidden these along with us to teach.

‘Let the [widow], then, [recognize] that she is God’s altar, and let her [sit still] in her house; let her not with [any pretext¹] wander about in the houses of the faithful, in order to receive: for neither does God’s altar ever wander about anywhere, but is settled in one spot. The widow, then, ought not to wander about among houses: for they who wander about and are shameless, keep not still in their houses because they are not widows but wallets, (and care for nothing but to be *om. AC*)] ready to [receive], (and because they are talkative and *om. AC*) [tattlers], slanderers² . . . counsellors of strife, [shameless], immodest: [and they that are such] are not [found] worthy [of Him who] called them.’

The general effect of the foregoing is manifest. Our new text is the middle term between the Syriac *Didascalia* and the Greek of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Each of them deviates from it in turns, the latter most

¹ So AC only. The rest of the gap is supplied mostly in terms of the Syriac, as generally nearer to our MS.

² Here L joins S after a long *lacuna*.

widely; each finds some support in it against the other; while their agreements against it are rare and easily explicable. These are in fact reducible to two 'certain cases, inconsistent with the supposition that either of these authorities for the text had before it the Greek *Didascalia* as found in our MS.² And those two cases are simple interpolations, easily separable from the original text, as not entering into its substance, and not betraying any settled motive or tendency making for systematic change. 'To disciple *or* (*save*) *the world*' is a simple gloss, in more conventional terms, on 'to teach (= 'disciple', above) the People' (S) —with its more historic reference to Israel as the prime sphere of Apostolic activity. As to the larger addition, its first part, 'and shall know that much is the judgement in store', merely aims at making clearer a condensed phrase in the Greek lying behind the Syriac, rendered in Funk's Latin by '*rea magni iudicii peccati*', in Flemming's German by '*des grossen Gerichts der Sünde schuldig*', and in Mrs Gibson's English by liable to '*a great condemnation for the sin*'. The original was perhaps *ἔνοχος πολλοῦ κρίματος ἁμαρτίας*, an emphatic but undefined expression, which some later reader first analysed into two statements, *ἔνοχος ἔστ(α)ι ἁμαρτίας* [καὶ γινώσεται πολὺ τὸ κρίμα ὑπάρχειν]—so increasing the emphasis—and then supported it by a Scriptural proof-text from Prov. x 19, defining the nature of the *ἁμαρτία* by its cause. That the original Greek seemed to be allusive, and so challenged the reader to supply for himself its full meaning, appears from the fact that the Constitutor also defined the sin in his own way; and he likewise added a proof-text in support of that definition as *βλασφημία*—in keeping with an earlier passage, where he is following the *Didascalia*.

When, however, we ask whether the Greek text implied by the Syriac —apart from deviations due to the translator and any mere copyist—was purer or not than that of our fragments, a decision is more difficult. There are several points of agreement between the fragments and *Apost. Const.* which seem to go back to a common text different from that used by the Syriac translator, early as was his date (possibly before *Apost. Const.*, i. e. before c. 375). Of these *μετὰ τίνος προφάσεως*, absent from the Syriac, is the best example. Further, the Syriac's '*et altera Maria*', instead of *καὶ Σαλώμη* (supported by iii 16. 4), may go

¹ For their agreement in '*Erant autem nobiscum discipulae*' and *συνῆν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ τε μήτηρ κτλ.*, which is only partial in nature, may well be accidental. The Syriac seems to break up a long and complex sentence for greater clearness; while AC changes the whole form of the passage and its context.

² One must add, however, that this statement applies primarily to the matter in the longer fragment, where the text is clearest. The first four lines of the shorter one, *r*¹, so far as the very few certain letters go, rather suggest a different text from that common to S and AC; while in the fifth line of its *verso* a word came between *κατ'αλαλους* and *μαχο[συμβου]λους* for which there is otherwise no evidence.

back to its Greek original; so too may its 'verbum doctrinae', which looks less original than our MS's τοῖς λόγοις τῆς πρεσβυτέρας, supported by the presence of ἡ πρεσβυτης in the next clause of *Apost. Const.* But in this matter of the relative purity of the text in our fragments and of that presupposed by the Syriac—as also in defining the exact degree of the Syriac translator's deviation from his Greek—we have to deplore the absence of the old Latin version in the Verona palimpsest, which would have settled some points we must now leave more or less open.

On the whole, however, we have reason to regard our fragments as preserving in their basal text a very ancient and pure form of the Greek *Didascalia*, of which they are so far the only known extant specimens, apart from the quotations in Epiphanius, and perhaps also in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. Moreover as a criterion of the degree to which our Syriac version deviates from its Greek original (whatever may have been the relative purity of its text and of that used by our MS), it largely confirms the impression conveyed by the old Latin version. That is a result of no small value.

J. VERNON BARTLET.

A NEW FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY FRAGMENT OF I TIMOTHY.

ALONG with the fragments of a Greek MS of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* found by Dr Rendel Harris in the binding of an early Syriac MS (see p. 301 above), there were smaller fragments of a MS written in a similar hand, even more akin than those to Cod. Purpureus N of the Gospels (vi cent.). Only the two larger of the four fragments in question are at all legible, and in these too the letters are extremely indistinct. Indeed it was only by the lucky circumstance that in one of them the letters αιδιδασκ . . . υποκριω were fairly clear in two successive lines, so leading me to suspect that we had here parts of 1 Tim. iv 1 f, that it became possible to decipher the rest with anything like confidence. Armed with this clue, Dr Grenfell perceived that the other fragment fitted on to its companion and helped to complete parts of the same text. The resulting reconstruction is as follows:

σαρκι ἐδικαιω[θη ἐν πνευματι
ωφθη αγγ[ελοις [εκηρυχθη (ἐν)¹ ἐθνε

¹ ἐν would make the line rather too full (26 letters against a maximum of 23 or 24 elsewhere), and is absent from a few cursives (see von Soden's *App. Crit.*), as well as apparently from the MSS used by Jerome, *praedicatum est gentibus*,

σιν επιστ]εϋθη [εν κοσμω <και>¹
 ανελημφ]θη εν δο]ξη το δε π[να
 ρητως λε]γει ο[τι εν] υστερο[ις
 καιροις α]ποσ[τησ]ονται τιν[ες
 της πιστ]εως [πρυ]σεχοντ[ε]ς
 πνσιν π]λαν[ης κ]αι διδασκ[αλι
 αις δαιμο]νιων [εν] υποκρισ[ει
 ψευδο]λογων κ[αι]²καυτηριασ
 μενων την³ιδιαν σ[υνε]ιδησιν κ[αι
 κωλυοντ]ων γ[αμειν

In this short passage there are only a few variant readings on which our fragments afford clear or probable evidence. But in those it seems usually to support the right text. Thus it has

εν υστεροις καιροις, with \aleph A C D F G K P Hipp. Clem. Orig. &c.

της πίστεως (without *εγιοῦς* or *εγμαινούσης*), with our MSS Tert. Orig. vg &c.

πλάνης (*ut vid.*, as best fitting the space, three letters or less) with P 31, 37, 73, 116 vg go arm Orig. in Matt. Ath.^{codd} Bas.^{codd} Chrys.^{cod} Cyr. Amb. Aug.: cf. Justin *Dial.* 35 τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς πλάνης πνευμάτων. πλάνοις \aleph A C D F G L d g Syr.^{utr} cop. aeth. Clem. Tert. Hipp. Noval. Orig.^{c. Celis} Arch. Ath.^{codd} Hil. Bas.^{cod} Ambrosr. Chry.^{codd} Ps.-Just. Euthal.^{cod}

καυτηριασμένων, with C D F G K P al pler Clem. Hipp. Orig. Bas. Epiph. Chr. Cyr.^{o86} Euthal.: cf. Iren. *κακαυτ. την συνειδησιν γυναikes. κεκαυστ.* \aleph A L 1. 37. 114. &c., Cyr.^{ador}

Besides these, the following reading seems probable in our fragment (though I have not by me now the means of verifying the reading of the letter visible after *συνειδησιν*):

καὶ κωλύνων, with Clem.⁵⁵⁰ Epiph.⁷¹⁶

With such an intrusive *καί* one may compare the possible case higher up, *καὶ ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ*, at the end of a series of parallel clauses.

But apart from these harmless instances of the copula slipping in unawares, and the possible omission of *ἐν* before *ἔθνεσιν*, the text appears a good one, especially if it really had the Hebraic *πνεύμασιν πλάνης* (with early Patristic support), where most MSS have the suspiciously better Greek, *πλάνοις*.

¹ *καί* seems needed to fill out the line; cf. the last line but one for a like addition to remove an asyndeton.

² *καί* for *κε*.

³ The omission of *την* seems needful in order not to overcrowd the space available.

In fact it and P have in the important variants the best record of all our Greek MSS for the verses in question: and perhaps its basal text may be described as a good third-century type.

J. VERNON BARTLET.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH.

IN connexion with the variations between 'flesh' and 'body' in the English documents of the sixteenth century, to which Dr Swete has called attention (p. 135), it is perhaps worth while to notice the trace of a similar uncertainty in the Scottish catechisms of the period. The Genevan catechism of Calvin, which was used by order of the Church from 1560 onwards, has 'the rising againe of the bodie' in the current Scots version. The later catechism, prefixed to *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*, also prints 'the resurrection of the body' in the Apostles' Creed. But in *A Catechism of Christian Religion*, i.e. a Scots version of the Palatinate or Heidelberg Catechism which had been drawn up in 1563, we find the last five articles of the Apostles' Creed printed thus: '8. I believe in the Holy Ghost: 9. I believe the Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints: 10. The Forgiveness of Sins: 11. The Resurrection of the Flesh: 12. And the Life Everlasting. Amen.' This translation was, according to the edition of 1721, 'Translated into *English*, and printed Anno 1591, by publick Authority, for the Use of *Scotland*'. Indeed, the edition of 1615, issued in Edinburgh, declares that it was 'appointed to be printed for the use of the Kirke of Edinburgh'. But this catechism was never formally authorized, although it is superior to its predecessor, the Genevan, and to Mr John Craig's, which followed it. The preference of 'flesh' to 'body', in the Apostles' Creed, is the only strange feature in its beautiful paragraphs; and even this cannot be termed an eccentricity.

JAMES MOFFATT.

PHILIPPIANS II 26 AND 2 TIM. IV 13.

IN the latest volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (part xii, 1916) there are two letters which supply illustrations to these texts.

(a) Epaphroditus, according to Paul, had been ill, but he had been vexed to learn that his friends in the church at Philippi had heard of his illness—ἀδελφονῶν διότι ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἡσθένησεν. He knew they would be anxious, and he unselfishly wished to spare them this anxiety about himself. It troubled him to think that any information about his personal health had reached his friends. Now in O. P. 1481 the editors print a letter written early in the second century by a soldier to

his mother, which strikes a similar note. It is interesting at the present time to find a soldier telling his mother that she is not to trouble about sending him any gifts. He puts this in the letter, and repeats it in a postscript. *Μὴ ὄχλοῦ δὲ πέμπειν τι ἡμῖν . . . μὴ ἐπιβαροῦ πέμπειν τι ἡμῖν*. He had got presents already by the hands of his brother and a letter from his mother; meantime he does not wish her to trouble about sending any further gifts. But he shews another trace of good feeling. A rumour had reached her that he was ill, and he is annoyed to think that her mind has been disturbed. The rumour seems to have been caused or at any rate made more credible by the fact that she had not heard from him for some time; but he explains that this was due to military duties. He had been *ἐν παρεμβολῇ*. If he had not written, it was *οὐ δι' ἀσθένει[ς]αν, ὥστε μὴ λοιπῶν*. *λείαν δ' ἐλοιπήθην ἀκούσας ὅτι ἤκουσας*. οὐ γὰρ δεινῶς ἡσθένησα. *μέμφομαι δὲ τὸν εἰπαντα σοι*. Here is a soldier, vexed that his mother had heard he was ill, and annoyed with the person who told her. The case is not quite parallel to that of Epaphroditus, of course. He had been ill, and dangerously ill; καὶ γὰρ ἡσθένησεν παραπλήσιον θανάτῳ. It was not an ill-founded rumour that had reached the church at Philippi about their deputy. Still, both Epaphroditus and this soldier were unselfishly concerned about those who cared for them.

(δ) In 2 Tim. iv 13—which is certainly a genuine fragment, whatever view be taken of the Pastoral epistles in general—St Paul asks Timothy to bring the mantle he had left at Troas with Carpus; *τὸν φελόνην, ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ, ἐρχόμενος φέρε*. In O. P. 1489 the editors print a letter from the late third century, written by a certain Sattos to his 'sister' Euphrosyne, which contains this sentence: *τὸ κιθώνιν ἐπιλέλισμε παρὰ Τεκούσαν εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα· πέμψον μοι ὡς ἐπεμψές μοι*. Lower down he tells her to 'hand my cloak to Kerarea the hair-dresser' (*παράδος τὸ κιθώνιν μου Κεραρέα τῇ κουρίδι*). Evidently it was not the first time that Sattos had left his cloak behind him, though the words do not make it clear whether he had left it accidentally or deliberately. In 2 Tim. iv 13 the probability is that the apostle had left his cloak behind on purpose.¹ Sattos is a pagan, as is plain from the opening words of his letter in which he salutes his friends *παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀντινοαίων*.

JAMES MOFFATT.

¹ Now, for some reason, he wanted it. There is a curious passage in Newman's journal (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, ed. Anne Mozley, vol. i p. 429) upon his affection for an old blue cloak which he had worn during his Mediterranean travels. 'I have it still. I have brought it up here to Littlemore, and on some cold nights I have had it on my bed. I have so few things to sympathize with me that I take to cloaks.'

SOME RECENT BOSSUET LITERATURE.

ENGLISH people do not like Bossuet. He has not Fénelon's charm, nor was he an aristocrat. Yet Bossuet is the greatest figure in French literature, and Sainte-Beuve could say that the glory of Bossuet had become one of the religions of France. Now that the German fog is lifting, French culture will mean more to us. How is it that there are so few good books about Bossuet? Sainte-Beuve wrote some excellent essays. So did the late Ferdinand Brunetière. These were collected in a volume in 1913. M. Rebelliau's smaller book is excellent. Valuable monographs have been published on this or that aspect of Bossuet, as for instance M. Rebelliau's monumental study of the value as history of the *Variations du Protestantisme*; M. Longuemare's interesting collection of the *aperçus* of social life afforded by Bossuet's sermons; and M. Ingold's work on Bossuet's relations to *le Jansénisme*. But there is no great book on Bossuet, as a whole. In English we have nothing but one or two inadequate essays by Dean Church and a work by Mrs Sidney Lear, which might almost be called Bossuet for mothers' meetings.

Here we have another. M. Dimier's work is a reprint of a series of lectures delivered in 1916. It reads like that. It has two main faults. First, it is too polemical. Much of the earlier part is occupied in shewing up the deficiencies of nineteenth-century Bossuetists. Brunetière in particular is never mentioned except to attack. Now the romantic element in Bossuet is not the whole. Some of the writers here attacked may have emphasized too much what they call the 'lyrisme' of Bossuet. Still, it is there. This had been overlooked in the eighteenth century.

The other fault M. Dimier shares with Brunetière himself and many others, who wrote on Bossuet. Unless like M. Brémond they are writing avowedly in the support of Fénelon, they fall into panegyric. One of the greatest living Bossuet scholars has remarked this in two cases. But it is found in more. Bossuet was a great man, a great bishop, and a very great writer. But he was far from perfect. Many readers approach Bossuet with a prejudice against him, derived from the Fénelon controversy. This prejudice will not be removed by the tone of unreasoning admiration adopted by nearly all his biographers ever since the Cardinal de Bausset, indeed we might almost say since the panegyric written by Bossuet's secretary Le Dieu.

M. Dimier's little volume is no exception. The pages on Bossuet's relations with Richard Simon are superficial and unfair. Bossuet's treatment of Simon is the least pleasant episode in his life. In the

matter of Fénelon, Bossuet has been harshly judged. His fame has never recovered from his victory. Yet in the main he was right, and even in method he was less wrong than is commonly supposed. But in regard to Simon, Bossuet was unfair in object, tyrannical in method, and wrong in nearly every point of detail. The consequences to religion were disastrous. M. Dimier mentions this incident or rather series of incidents, but he does so without giving the reader a chance to see that Simon even had a case. If Bossuet, as Simon believed, allowed himself to be moved by the Jansenist leaders, who always hated Simon, that only derogates from his greatness. But I think he was sincere, like the Protestant assailants of Simon's critical method. This is proved by the attitude he took up in regard to Dupin. Anyhow he did an ill service to religion in suppressing this early effort at true critical enquiry, and, as Renan said, by throwing men back on the old indefensible methods of Biblical exegesis he prepared the ground for Voltaire.

Equally unsatisfactory is the last chapter, which is concerned with Bossuet's defence of Gallicanism. Largely occupied with the problems of modern ultramontanes, the writer does not take the trouble to go into the difficult problem of Bossuet's precise part in the assembly of 1682, and the framing of the four propositions. Nor does he give even a tolerable outline of the argument of the great *Defensio*.

On the other hand, the chapter on Bossuet as director of souls is admirable. It were to be wished that more people were acquainted with a side of his work which shews him in so sympathetic an attitude, and is different from that of the melodramatic gesticulator which so many people attribute to him. The Quietist controversy also is treated with common sense, and the writer escapes that glamour which has misled so many into a false notion both of Fénelon and what he stood for.

Greater gratitude is due for other efforts of Bossuet students. The monumental edition of the letters by MM. Urbain and L'Evesque is worthy of French scholarship at its best. The old divisions into *lettres diverses*, *lettres de pitié et de dévotion*, and *lettres relatives à l'affaire de Quietisme* had something in their favour. But the principle was not exactly carried out; many of the so-called letters of devotion were merely instructions to the superiors of convents. The editors have now adopted a purely chronological classification, and have nearly reached the close of the Quietist controversy in the tenth volume. Many letters not previously published are here given; and others gathered from out-of-the-way sources. Besides this, valuable pieces are printed in appendices to various volumes, and the notes on all important points are a storehouse of information without being overloaded. The same two scholars are giving us a definitive edition of the oratorical

works in six volumes. That is to say they are revising and completing the work of Lebarq. The condition of the text of the earlier editions of the sermons leaves much to be desired. Dean Church once wrote an essay on it, mainly derived from Gandar's book *Bossuet Orateur*. It is essential for the student to have the true text and the right date and attribution; also to be able to read Bossuet's various courses through, and not scattered as they all now are. Not the least of the injuries the Germans have done to culture is their stoppage of this publication. We have at present only two volumes, taking us down to 1659, i.e. the eve of Bossuet's great preaching period. Four other volumes we hope to see, if the war ever ends.

The *Revue Bossuet* was evidence of the interest and enthusiasm of French students. A glance at the foot-notes to any modern book on Bossuet will shew how important are the articles. It is sad that the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and the Bodleian have all alike passed it over in their catalogues. This, too, may come to us in peace-time.

Dimier, Louis, *Bossuet*. Paris, Librairie Nationale. 1917.

Brunetière, Ferdinand, *Bossuet*. 1913.

Rebelliau, Alfred, *Bossuet*. 1900.

" " *Bossuet, Historien du Protestantisme*. 1891.

Ingolde, *Bossuet et le Jansénisme*. Paris. 1897.

Longuemare, *Bossuet et la société française*. Paris. 1910.

On the Simon controversy cf. A. M. P. H. Margival, *Richard Simon*.

Bossuet, *Correspondance*, nouvelle édition augmentée par Ch. Urbain et E. Levesque, 1909-16.

Œuvres oratoires de Bossuet, édition critique de l'Abbé Lebarq, revue et augmentée par Ch. Urbain et E. Levesque. 1913, 1914. (Four more volumes to come.)

J. NEVILLE FIGGIS.

A PARALLEL TO A COPTIC SERMON ON THE NATIVITY.

No. 6 in the *Theological texts from Coptic papyri*, edited by W. E. Crum in *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, vol. xii (1913), pp. 20-23, gives: *a.* the final doxology of a discourse or some such text; *b.* the beginning, in a very defective condition, of an *ἐξήγησις* or Sermon by a bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia on the Birth of our Lord; *c.* a fragment on the appearance and the discourse of our Lord to the Apostles in Acts i 3-7. *b* follows *a* on the same leaf. *c* is in a conjugate leaf, more or less distant from the first, and it is not clear whether it preceded or followed the other; in the editor's judgement, 'it is

a passage, relating to Acts i 3 ff, which may belong to either or to neither of the preceding'.

The discourse on the Nativity, according to Mr Crum, 'might be attributed to Basil of Caesarea, if that town's name could be read in the second lacuna. The text, however, does not resemble that of any published sermon by Basil'. The lack of any corresponding text must have been keenly felt by the editor, especially in the longer lacunae, where in twenty lines scarcely a letter remains visible, with the result that any sort of restoration is quite out of the question.

It may therefore not be without value to point out a parallel text¹ which occurs among the spurious works of St John Chrysostom, and was printed by Savile vii 400-405, 'ex ms. Collegii Novi Oxon.', and in Migne *P. G.* lxi cc. 763-768. It is a Homily on the Nativity, excessively far-fetched in language and style. It corresponds to the Coptic fragment in substance, and generally also in order; but not entirely, for the Coptic has some additional clauses and even whole sentences; and it has various Greek words differing from those of our Greek text, as is not unusual in Coptic texts derived from the Greek. Whether such differences are to be attributed to the licence of the translator, embarrassed in the rendering of so rhetorical a text, or whether they represent another Greek redaction, plainer in style and slightly more developed in content, is a question which will probably settle itself when the manuscripts (and there are several of them²) which contain this homily come to be examined, a task which has not yet been attempted.

Here I content myself with proving the affinity of the two texts, of whatever nature it may be, by a comparison of the first sentences; and with observing that the Greek homily has no reference to Acts i 3 sqq., probably because the fragment *c* does not belong to a Homily on the Nativity, but, I imagine, to another Homily, on the Second Coming of the Lord.

I number each sentence to facilitate comparison, and I print the additions of the Coptic in italics. The task of supplementing and correcting I leave to Coptic scholars.

¹ Ὅπoταν ἐκ χειμῶνος κρυεροῦ θερμὸν ἔαρ ἐκλάμψῃ, ² τότε καὶ ἡ γῆ χλοερὰν πoάν προβάλλεται, ³ καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἀνθοκόμοις πρέμνοις ὠραΐζεται, ⁴ καὶ ὁ ἀῆρ ἡλίψ καταλαμπόμενος ἀγλαΐζεται, ⁵ καὶ πᾶς ὀρνίθων χορός, ἀνὰ

¹ The opening passage of John of Euboea's (viii c.) unpublished discourse on the Nativity which begins Ὅπoταν τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέλθῃ, τὰ τῶν σωμάτων στοιχεῖα πρὸς καινισμόν παλινδρομοῦσι appears to me to be, not a parallel to the pseudo-Chrysostom, but an imitation. On it, see E. Bratke *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sassaniden* (*Texte und Untersuchungen* xix 3 (1899) pp. 91 sq.).

² E. g. among the Vatican Greek MSS 563 (sacc. xiii), 679, 803, and 1633 (sacc. x-xi); Colbert 7 (sacc. xi); Nanian. 154; Athos 1040.

τὸν αἰθέρα πετώμενος, ταῖς μελωδίαις κλαγγάζει. ⁶ τότε καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντες βουνόμοι τε καὶ ποιμένες, τῶν καλυβῶν ὑπεξελθόντες τῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ^b κάλλει τὰς ὄψεις μεταρρυθμίζουσι, ⁷ καὶ ^c ταῖς τῶν καλλιφώνων ὀρνέων κλαγγαῖς ^d πολυφθόγοις δόναξιν ἀντίμιμα ^e λυρῶδούντες, τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων προβάτων αἰσθήσεις ἠδύνοντες, ἐπὶ τὴν πόαν τοὺς ἄρνας πρᾶψ τῷ βήματι φέρουσι. ⁸ τότε καὶ γεωργὸς ^f τὴν δρεπάνην ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ θήξας παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ^g, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα πορεύεται κίραι τῆς ἀμπέλου τὸ ἄγονον κλῆμα. ⁹ τότε καὶ πελάγιοι πλωτῆρες κτλ.

^a ἄνω codd. Vat. ^b (ἰ)αρος Vat. 563; ἀρος cett. Savil. ^c καὶ γὰρ Vatt. 803, 1633 ^d ταῖς . . . κλάγγει, sic Savil. ^e ἀντίμιμα Vatt. 679, 803, 1633 ^f γεπόνος Vatt. 803, 1633 ^g ἐν . . . πέτραν: λαβὼν Vat. 563; cf. Copt.

¹ When the χιμὼν is gone by and the rain αναχωρεῖ κατὰ the words of the σοφὸς Solomon, ⁴ and the ἀη is pleasant, and the sun doth shine; ² τότε doth the earth put forth a garden of χορτος, ³ the trees burst forth in gladness at budding, ²² the sun is fervid in . . . ⁶ and the birds likewise (?) go forth from . . . and cover (?) the ἀη while they . . . ⁸⁷⁷ καλῇ . . . ⁷ following . . . footsteps gladly, σκιρτα in the . . . pastures. ⁸ τότε doth [. . . ? the] knife go forth into its vine, to cut off the branch that shall not bear καρπός, and to dress that which is about to bear fruit in gladness. ⁹ τότε doth the husbandman &c.

GIOVANNI MERCATI.

NOTES ON CATENAE ON MATTHEW

(1) IN Cramer's Catena on Matthew several quotations ascribed to Origen are really from Chrysostom. This was noted in *J. T. S.* xvi 420, as regards those on xii 1, 10; xiii 25; xiv 36; and xv 5. To these must be added xix 1, from Chrys. *Hom.* lxii (Field, ii 215). Also the quotation in Possinus's Catena on Mt. xvi 28 is really from Chrys. *Hom.* lv (Field, ii 127).

Out of other quotations in Cramer from Origen, on passages where his continuous commentary is extant, those on the Parables of the Two Sons, the Wicked Husbandmen, and the Marriage Feast are clearly from that source (T. xvii 4, 9, 15, 16, 22, 23), though those on the last two parables have some additional clauses; they may help here and there to emend the text. But the fragments on xxi 42-44 are independent, and the remaining brief quotations are not traceable.

(2) Some quotations are ascribed to more than one source. That on i 19, on the difference between δειγματίσαι and πωλεῖν δειγματίσαι, entitled 'Eusebius, Origen', comes directly from Eusebius *Ad Stephanum* Q. i 3. The bulk of that on i 25, inscribed 'Eusebius, Origen, Irenaeus

of Pelusium', comes from Isidore, *Epistles*, bk. i 18. A long note on ii 2 entitled 'Eusebius, Origen' agrees in substance with Eusebius *Ad Stephanum* Q. xvi, but the language differs. That on v 33 entitled 'Origen, Cyril' is, in a somewhat longer form, ascribed to Origen in Possinus's *Catena*. That on xxvii 33 (Place of a Skull, where Adam was buried), entitled 'Cyril, Origen', comes from Origen's *Commentary*, § 126, where De la Rue gives the Greek fragment in a slightly different form. That on i 25, entitled 'Basil, Chrysostom', is directly from Chrys. *Hom.* v (Field, i 64).

(3) The bulk of the fragments of Origen in Gallandi (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.* xiv) are summaries of passages in the *Commentary*, though they sometimes add extra sentences. (Some of these sentences may be genuine; others echo Chrysostom.) The notes on xiii 44, 47 are from the *Commentary*, T. x 4, 11 (see *J. T. S.* xvii 101). A long passage on xviii 5 is independent; that on v. 20 is mainly from T. xiv 1, but includes a passage from Clement *Strom.* iii 10, and the additional sentence 'For being everywhere as God, He is in the midst of those gathered together through godliness. For the all-surveying and indivisible power of God becomes divisible (*μεριστή*) to the worthy.' Of the two paragraphs on v. 21 the first seems independent of the *Commentary*; its genuineness, however, is confirmed by the substantial agreement of a fragment in Possinus. The second summarizes the *Commentary*, prefixing a new sentence, which is however suspiciously akin to one in Chrysostom. That on xxi 33 is from T. xvii 6, 7, with a new sentence which may come from Theodore, and another which certainly seems to come from Chrysostom.

Some of the fragments belong to passages where the continuous text exists only in the abridged Latin version. That on xxiv 45 is from § 61, with the additional sentence 'He means by "prudent" (*φρόνιμος*) one who is not turned away by the foolish words of heresies . . . or is not pierced by sins by reason of the cunning and wiliness of men; one who knows when he ought to reprove or rebuke or exhort or teach, and to whom he ought to give milk to drink and to whom solid food.' Of the two quotations on xxv 1, the first is an obscure summary of part of § 63; the second and longer one seems composite, the earlier part being from the *Commentary*, with the passage about the equipment (*κόσμος*) of the senses in a fuller form than in the Latin, and including also some other clauses, e.g. 'The lamps are all-virtuous (*πανάπερος*) action; the oil is the word (*λόγος*) poured upon him who works good action. They sleep, who are removed from living energy.' The latter part seems quite independent; but the Latin may be greatly abridged just here; it gives two and a half times more space to the parable of the Talents than to that of the Virgins. The Greek, however, reads

rather like Notes on Scholia, but the Catenae often compress into this form. The fragment on xxvii 11 is from § 118; that on v 45 is composite from § 134 and Chrysostom; see *J. T. S.* xviii 77.

(4) The basis of Cramer's Catena is the Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies*, on which see Field, iii xxii. He there says that, besides Chrysostom, in one place and perhaps a second 'the Pelusiote' is quoted. I have not seen it noticed that occasionally there occurs passages not in the *Homilies* as they stand; this is specially noticeable on ch. xxv, both as regards the Talents and the Judgement. The catenist also quotes Chrysostom among other writers; in one case, on Mt. xxi 44, a passage is again quoted after having already occurred in the Epitome (pp. 176-177). The quotations from other writers are most numerous in the earlier part of the Gospel; sometimes later on there are many consecutive pages with nothing but Chrysostom. A rough analysis gives these other writers thus: Origen has 66 passages ascribed to him, besides 6 ascribed also to some other; next come Cyril of Alexandria 42 (6) and Theodore of Heraclea 36 (5). Next to these come Severus of Antioch 16, Theodore the Monk 13 (2), and Apollinaris 11. Next come Isidore of Pelusium 7 (3), Theodore of Mopsuestia 7, Eusebius 6 (3), Theodoret 5, Clement 4 (1), Basil 2 (1), while Irenaeus, Severim, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa (Gregory), δ θεολόγος, Hesychius of Jerusalem, and 'Thalassius monk and presbyter' have one each. (The quotation from the last-named, on p. 197, breaks off near foot of page; what follows is from Chrysostom (*Hom.* lxxvi p. 384).) Thus there is apparently no source later than the middle of the sixth century (Severus and Thalassius): this suggests an early date. There is a wide field of selection of authorities, but a distinct Alexandrine preference appears, e.g. in the relative number of quotations from Cyril and from Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret. In the case of Severus alone is mention made of the particular work cited; the compiler may possibly belong to his school. The works thus quoted are 'Obedience' (Ὑπακοή), pp. 59, 235; the 79th Logos, p. 122; and his letters to Caesarius (or perhaps rather Caesaria), p. 118, and to Anastasia the ὑπάτισσα, p. 125. 'Caesaria the Patrician' and 'Georgia daughter of Anastasia the ὑπάτισσα' were among Severus's correspondents in the Sixth Book of his *Sacred Letters* (ed. Brooks); but these particular letters are not included. The very long passage near the end of the Catena is from Severus's *Letter on the Resurrection*; the long quotations from Eusebius (*Ad Marcellum*) which follow shew how this work was utilized by the compiler. The sentences of Eusebius here given serve to connect the various parts of the edition of this work of his.

A FRAGMENT OF THE *DIALOGI* OF SULPICIUS SEVERUS.

A SMALL collection of fragments of parchment MSS taken from old bindings was recently lent to me by my friend Dom Josaphat Ostrowski, O.S.B., a refugee from the Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium. Among them I found a single leaf of a MS written in double columns in a clear hand of the end of the eleventh century. On examination it proved to be only the lower portion of the leaf which had been cut horizontally across the middle. What remains measures 16.8 cms. in length by 22 cms. in breadth, the actual column of writing measuring 13 cms. in length. Each column contains exactly 18 lines of writing. I have identified the matter as a portion of the first book of the *Dialogi* of Sulpicius Severus (ed. Halm, *Corp. SS. Eccl. Lat. Vind.*, t. i, 1866). A simple calculation enables us to determine the original dimensions of the leaf of the MS. Between the last word on col. 1 of the recto of the leaf and the first on col. 2 we find that matter equivalent to about 720 letters in Halm's edition is missing. Now in the MS there are almost exactly 30 letters to each line, therefore 24 lines are missing at the top of each column. From this we deduce that in the original MS each column of writing contained 42 lines and measured 28 cms. in length. Allowing 4 cms. each for top and bottom margins we see that the original MS must have measured about 36 cms. in length by about 25 in breadth (allowing about 3 cms. for the cutting away of the greater portion of the left-hand margin). The fragment exhibits no unusual palaeographical feature. Words are clearly separated and there is some attempt at punctuation. As the text presents a number of readings not occurring in any of the MSS collated by Halm, I have thought it well to transcribe the whole fragment, preserving the punctuation:—

Recto, col. 1 (*Dialogus*, i, 10, 4-11, 2, ed. pp. 162, 18-163, 1):—

ceteri predicarent • abbas ille altiori¹ consilio ne infirma etas insolesceret • uirgis utrumque conpescuit • multum obiurgans² • cur ipsi quod per eos dominus operatus fuerat prodidissent. Opus illud non suę fidei • sed diuinę fuisse uirtutis affirmans. Monebatque ut³ discerent potius deo in humilitate seruire • et non in signis et uirtutibus gloriari • quia melior esset infirmitatis conscientia uirtutum uanitate. Hoc ubi ille monachus audiuit • et periclitatus⁴ infantulos serpentes

¹ altiore *ed.*

² obiurgatos *ed.*

³ affirmans . . . ut *missing in ed.*

periclitatos *ed.*

occursu · et ipsos insuper multa uerba uicto serpente meruisse · abbatem obsecrat ne sibi post hæc panis¹ aut cibus aliquis mitteretur · Iamque octauus dies fuerat emensus quo se homo christi intra periculum famis ipse concluderat · Arebant membra . . .

col. 2 (i, 11, 7, and 14, 1, pp. 163, 15-19, and 166, 4-10):—

cum senex ad monasterium post regressus fratribus retulisset · tantus omnium mentibus incendii amor excreuit² · ut certatim ad heremum et sacras solitudines ire properarent · Miseros se fatentes · qui diutius in congregatione multorum ubi humana esset patientia conuersati³ resedissent.⁴

Alium eque singularem uirum uidimus paruo tugurio · in quo nonnisi unus recipi posset habitantem · De hoc illud ferebatur · quod lupa ei⁵ solita erat cenanti astare⁶ · Nec facile umquam bestia falleretur · quin illi ad legitimam horam refectionis occurreret · et tam diu pro foribus expectaret · donec ille panem qui cēnulę super esset⁷ offerret · Illaque⁸ manum eius lambere solita⁹ · ita¹⁰ . . .

Verso, col. 1 (*Dialogus*, i, 14, 4-7, ed. pp. 166, 23-167, 6):—

[dissimu]lans · cui fecisset iniuriam · Agre¹¹ patiebatur heremita · se alumne solatio destitutum. Postremo illius oratione reuocata · septimum post diem affuit¹² ut solebat ante cenanti. Sed ut facere¹³ cerneret uerecundiam penitentis · non ausa propius accedere · deiectis in terram profundo pudore luminibus quodque¹⁴ palam licebat intellegi · quandam ueniam precabatur. Quam illius confusionem heremita miseratus · iubet eam propius accedere · ac manu blanda capud triste permulcet · Dein pane duplicato eam suam reficit · ita indulgentia¹⁵ consecuta · officii consuetudinem deposito merore reparauit. Intuemini queso christi etiam in hac parte uirtutem · cui sapit omne quod brutum est · cui mite est omne quod seuit. Lupa pre[stat] . . .

col. 2 (i, 15, 3-4, pp. 167, 19-168, 1):—

duo ex nitria monachi licet longa¹⁶ et¹⁷ diuersa regione · tamen quia olim ipsis in monasteriis¹⁸ conuersatione carus et familiaris fuisset · auditis eius uirtutibus tetenderunt · Quem diu multumque quesitum · tandem mense septimo reppererunt in extremo illo deserto quod est memphis contiguum demorantem · quas ille solitudines iam per annos duodecim dicebatur habitare · Qui licet omnium hominum uitaret

¹ panis ullus *ed.*

² omnes inceserat ardor animorum *ed.*

³ patienda conuersatio *ed.*

⁴ After this word two-thirds of the line is left blank and the scribe commences a new paragraph with a large red A. Between *resedissent* and *Alium* the scribe has omitted the whole of chapters 12 and 13 (pp. 163, 20-166, 3).

⁵ ei lupa *ed.*

⁶ adstare cenanti *ed.*

⁸ illam *ed.*

⁹ solitam *ed.*

¹⁰ adque ita *ed.*

¹¹ aegre *ed.*

¹² adfuit *ed.*

¹³ facile *ed.*

¹⁴ quod *ed.*

¹⁵ indulgentiam *ed.*

¹⁶ longe *ed.*

¹⁷ et *om. ed.*

¹⁸ monasterii *ed.*

occursum¹ · tamen agnitos non refugit · seque carissimis per triduum non negavit · quarto die aliquantulum progressus · Cum prosequeretur abeuntes · leenam mire magnitudinis ad se uenire conspiciunt · Bestia licet tribus repertis · non incerta quem peteret anachoritę pedibus . . .

In noting the readings of our fragment which differ from Halm's text, I have mentioned only those which do not occur in any of the MSS collated by him. They are sufficiently distinct to make us regret the loss of the remainder of the text. Of the other variants several are merely orthographic, and the remaining four agree with the readings of the two allied MSS called by Halm A and F.

It remains only to add that our fragments must come from a MS of the complete work of Sulpicius Severus and not from one of the fourth book of the *Vitae Patrum*, which consists largely of extracts from the *Dialogi*. On comparing our text with that of the *Vitae Patrum* (ap. Migne *P. Lat.* 73, 819-821), it is seen that the readings are frequently very different and that the entire passage from *Miseros* to *resedissent* (recto, col. 2, of our fragment) does not occur in the *Vitae* version (*ibid.* 819 C).

M. ESPOSITO.

¹ occursum *ed.*

REVIEWS

Form and Content in the Christian Tradition, by W. SANDAY, D.D. and N. P. WILLIAMS, M.A. (Longmans, 1916.)

IN June 1915 Dr Sanday contributed an article to *The Modern Churchman* on 'Continuity of Thought and Relativity of Expression'. This article contained within a brief compass a statement of opinion which, in a characteristic phrase, Dr Sanday says it has taken him a lifetime to form and from which he is not likely to be shaken; it ends with a challenge, no less characteristic, addressed to the other side, inviting them to try and shake him. Mr N. P. Williams took up the gauntlet, and his letters, together with Dr Sanday's answers, form the volume before us. It is marked by two qualities unfortunately absent from most 'published correspondence', viz. perfect candour and perfect courtesy. One is at a loss which to admire most, the reverence of the younger scholar for the learning and character of the elder, or the generosity with which the elder admits the other's skill of fence and the serenity with which he registers some palpable hits. Mr Williams is certainly an adroit dialectician, and no approximation or piece of loose phrasing escapes his eye. But he has the defects of his qualities; he is sometimes, no doubt inadvertently, less than fair to his opponent, and he sometimes allows his zeal to hamper his logic. For instance, in the discussion on miracles, he tries to whittle down Dr Sanday's definition to a 'surprising event'. He omits altogether the spiritual content of the wonder, upon which Dr Sanday lays especial stress, and which is perhaps the last word on the subject. He picks up the phrase 'work-a-day world', and sets against it 'the countless millions of every age, social class, colour, race, or language', who have found and find in the traditional view their 'stay and consolation'. But it may be remarked that, even if it were a question of quantity rather than of quality, the majority of mankind to-day are not Christian at all, and that further—what is more to the point—the traditional creed is to the uninstructed modern man a *durus sermo*.

Miracles seem to occupy a larger space and to evoke more argumentation than they merit when the writers are Christians, each of whom holds firmly the belief in God at once Immanent and Transcendent. Between a Spinosist or Deist and a Christian there would be room for long and interminable debate, for the former deny the premiss upon which the latter builds his faith. But the Christian concept of God is

that He is transcendent; and with the belief in His transcendence is involved belief in the possibility of miracle. No one who holds the one can logically deny the other, and to him Hume's definition of a miracle, as a violation of the laws of nature, has no kind of meaning. Take a law of nature—take Newton's first law: 'Every body continues in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line, unless it is compelled by impressed forces to change that state.' E.g. suppose an arrow is coming straight at a man. Some one by a slight action may turn the arrow and save the man. It is no miracle to do so. Can God influence the course of the world to that extent? If He can there is no question of a violation of a law of nature. If there is a transcendent God He can do so; and the question of miracles is in the last resort the question of a transcendent God.¹ In the case of particular miracles, e.g. Biblical miracles, our acceptance or denial of them will depend upon the value which we attach to the evidence in their favour. Of course if we regard the Church or the Bible as infallible in point of fact as well as of doctrine, *cadit quaestio*. But if we consent to a readjustment of view in respect of certain Old Testament miracles, such as Jonah's fish, Joshua's moon, the Flood, Elijah, and the soldiery of Ahaziah, all of which were certainly once held by the undivided Catholic Church as genuine history, we can hardly decline to apply the test of evidence to miracles of the New Testament. And here come in the subtle and difficult considerations arising from changes in historical method from growth in scientific knowledge, &c. No one can deny that the mental atmosphere of the first century was different from that of ours. Is it conceivable that this difference should not be reflected in records of the early date and in the balances in which they are weighed to-day? So the manner of God's working in a particular event of the past may still be the subject of reverent enquiry on the part of those who believe that He worked then and worketh still. It needs some degree of courage to say that 'if a papyrus were discovered at Nazareth which proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that our Lord was not born of a virgin, I should at once and without hesitation abandon not merely the belief in the Virgin Birth, but all the rest of Catholic Christianity as well'. But to carry the promise into action would surely denote a pretension to more enlightenment than we have any right to claim, and would shew a spirit inconsistent with the highest trust.

It will be guessed that in my opinion, for such reasons as I have given, and others, Dr Sanday has the best of the day—not always in the logomachy, but on the broad issues. These he sums up in his Preface, and to it the reader may be referred.

¹ I owe this argument to my friend, Mr E. J. Thomas, of Emmanuel College.

Neither of the writers has converted the other, but the public whom they have admitted to their friendly controversy should be grateful to them for the proof which it provides of the generosity and patience of their common Mother. The whole incident makes it clear that 'modernist' and 'traditionalist' can live in amity if not in agreement, and that the spirit of Tertullian and his *Praescriptio* cannot breathe in the large atmosphere of the Church of England.

H. F. STEWART.

De Essentia sacramenti Ordinis disquisitio historico-theologica, G. M. Card. VAN ROSSUM, C.S.S.R. (B. Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1914.)

'ALL who profess and call themselves Christians' and, at the same time, are interested in 'the good estate of the Catholic Church', should be grateful to the eminent Dutch Cardinal Van Rossum for providing an exposition—exhaustive, practical, and clear—of the Roman Catholic teaching on that much disputed subject, the Essentials of the Sacrament of Order. The Cardinal, who justly enjoys the reputation of being a learned and orthodox theologian, was, it will be remembered, raised to the purple by Pius X, and has recently been entrusted by Benedict XV with one of the most important offices in the Roman Curia: we may, therefore, safely regard his work as authoritative. And therein lies its particular interest and value.

From the Middle Ages onwards the question has been hotly discussed, in the Schools, as to which rite, among the many and elaborate ceremonies of Ordination, is to be regarded as indispensable, and necessary for the validity of the Sacrament. Certain views, put forward by very learned and competent authorities (notably by Thomas Aquinas), seriously deviate from traditional Catholic doctrine. The Cardinal considers that these false notions were mainly the logical outcome of the rupture between the Latin and Greek Churches, coupled with ignorance of the Eastern liturgies: 'Ad hoc viam sternebat . . . oblivio veterum librorum ritualium, abruptio relationum cum Ecclesia graeca et ignorantia rituum orientalium.'¹ These same false notions, with regard to the essentials of Holy Order, are entertained and propagated by many at the present time, and frequently result in anxiety and doubt, on the part of individual Roman Catholic bishops and priests, as to whether this or that omission of some punctilio of ceremonial has nullified orders given or received—which doubts have been referred to Rome for solution. The Cardinal, who has long been Consultor of

¹ p. 144.

several of the Roman Congregations, has certainly had ample opportunity for realizing the crying necessity for some authoritative treatise which should put an end, once and for all, to the greater part of these doubts and difficulties. For this reason, he says, he feels himself impelled to go into his subject as minutely and methodically as possible: 'Propterea operae pretium esse duxi ac gratum omnibus laborem si me accingerem ad hanc tantae magnitudinis ac difficultatis quaestionem funditus et ab ovo, ut aiunt, plenissime et accuratissime tractandam atque excutiendam.'¹ This is a highly satisfactory declaration; and so is the Cardinal's assurance that his quotations are not second-hand: 'Hinc quascumque adducturus sum auctoritates, textus, locos, seu simplices, ut dicunt, citationes, non ex aliis scriptoribus bona fide transcripsi, sed ipse ex propriis auctorum scriptis et authenticis documentis deprompsi, praeferens omittere ea quae ipse inspicere ac examinare non potui. Improbis sane labor, sed quem tanta quaestio maxime meretur.'²

The following passage is worthy of notice, in that it disposes of the idea that scientific liberty is incompatible with full and loyal submission to the *magisterium* of the Church: 'Notare adhuc iuvat in tota hac elucubratione abstractionem fieri a decretis Sacrarum Romanarum Congregationum. Non profecto quod non arbitror eis summam reverentiam, observantiam ac mentis quoque submissionem non deberi; sed quia notum est omnibus decreta SS. Congregationum in praesenti materia casus spectare particulares *practice* solvendo, minime vero decisiones *doctrinales*. Consueverunt scilicet SS. RR. Congregationes in solvendis dubiis practicis liberas relinquere auctorum opiniones, viam tutiorem sequi ac proinde, ubi secundum auctorum sententias aliqua adest probabilitas defuisse aliquid Sacramento praecipere ut *sub conditione* reiteretur. Hinc in investigatione circa ritum essentialem sacramenti Ordinis omnino licitum est, imo satius, ad illas practicas solutiones casuum non attendere.'³

The dissertation itself is divided into three parts. The first is an exposition of the different theories as to what constitutes the essence of the Sacrament of Holy Order. According to the author, there are six of these theories; and he indicates, in chronological order, the theologians who have maintained them. The second part—which is the body of the work—is entitled *Inquisitio Veritatis*, and seeks in Scripture and Tradition, in the writings of the Fathers, Doctors, and Popes, in the *Acta* of the Councils, and in the liturgical formularies of East and West, those elements which go to indicate the *ritus essentialis* of the Sacrament of Order. The third part, *Difficultates et Conclusiones*, replies to certain difficulties arising, especially, from the

¹ p. 5.² p. 8.³ p. 8.

decree addressed by Eugenius IV to the Armenians, on November 22, 1439, after the Council of Florence. (Incidentally, there is an important note on the Power of the Church over the Substance of the Sacraments.) The author sums up by stating the conclusions which follow from his investigations.

Now, current manuals of theology generally reduce to three heads the existing opinions with regard to the essentials of the Sacrament of Order:—

(i) that the rite of the *Porrectio Instrumentorum* is alone indispensable ;

(ii) that the Imposition of Hands alone is essential ;

(iii) that the two rites together constitute the *esse* of the Sacrament.

Cardinal Van Rossum justly criticizes this arbitrary division as inexact, incomplete, and misleading. It is an *inexact* division, because the third opinion is not—as might be imagined—a combination of the other two. On the contrary, while admitting the first view, it entirely cuts out the second. For the Imposition of Hands—which, together with the Tradition of the Instruments, it holds to be essential—is *not* that Imposition which takes place at the beginning of the Ordination rite in the Roman Pontifical, but that which occurs near the end of the Mass, when the bishop pronounces the formula conferring the Power of the Remission of Sins. Again, it is an *incomplete* division, because other opinions, held by competent theologians, find no place in it. And it is *misleading* in its specious simplicity, exposing to prejudice and misconception the value of the other opinions.

Against this general and time-honoured—but very inexact—classification, the Cardinal groups the views of the contending theologians under six heads or categories:—

(i) That the *porrectio*—the presentation of the sacred vessels and objects to the ordinand—is the sole essential rite in the Ordination of Priests. Theologians who hold this view, teach that the *matter* of the Sacrament consists in the porrection, tradition, or presentation of the paten with the host and the chalice with the wine; the *form* being constituted by the words pronounced by the bishop during this special ceremony: *Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium missae missasque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. In Nomine, &c.* As to all other rites (including both Impositions of Hands), they hold them to be purely accidental and accessory. The author enumerates a goodly company of theologians—from the thirteenth century onwards—who maintain this opinion; notably, Albert the Great, Durandus, Capreolus, Cajetan, Soto, Ledesma, and Gregory of Valence. He examines their arguments, and briefly remarks upon them, reserving their complete refutation until later on in his book.

(ii) That in the Sacrament of Orders there are two essential rites. Supporters of this theory employ the following argument: the Priesthood comprises two distinct Powers—one, over the Eucharistic Body of Christ, and the other, over His Mystical Body. The first Power is conferred by the Tradition of the Instruments, and by the formula which accompanies that ceremony; the second, by the *last* Imposition of Hands, and the words then pronounced by the bishop: *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remisieris peccata*, &c. These rites constitute the essentials of the Sacrament.

Here again the Cardinal presents a long list of theologians belonging to this group. We find there such names as Scotus, Catharinus, Medina, Vasquez, Sanchez, Bellarmine, Lessius, Ysambert, the Carmelites of Salamanca, Billuart, Haine, and Lottini.

This argument is laid open to effective criticism on its own merits, but it is finally demolished by historical considerations. It is only too obvious that the majority of these theologians have entirely neglected the historical side of their question—a fact which the Cardinal duly notes in the following terms: ‘Dolendum sane quod plurimi, atque inter ipsos etiam summi viri, vinculis decreti Eugenii IV integre se extricare nescientes, nimium speciosis ratiocinationibus attenderint nec satis dederint sanæ criticae, cui in hac quaestione longe supra mentis speculationes primæ competunt partes. Quod valet etiam pro rata de defensoribus sequentium tertiæ, quartæ et quintæ sententiarum. Dolendum pariter quod alii plurimi antiquitatis ignorantia atque inquisitione defecerunt. Quod si antiqua documenta, usum quoque Ecclesiæ orientalis scrutassent melius, dubium non est quin ad longe diversas conclusiones venissent.’¹ And, after citing a passage from Cajetan in illustration of this, the Cardinal adds: ‘Quid dixisset Cajetanus si scivisset Ecclesiam per multa saecula non solum diaconatum sed etiam presbyteratum sine instrumentorum traditione contulisse, ac ritui ordinationis non adiunxisse nisi posterioribus saeculis impositionem manus cum verbis: *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*?’²

(iii) The verdict of history that the *last* Imposition of Hands is of very late introduction into the Ordinal, has led certain theologians to modify the theory of which we have just spoken and to assert that the essential rite of Ordination consists in the Porrection of the Instruments together with the *first* Imposition of Hands—i. e. that which is anterior to the porrection, and which is accompanied by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the ordinands. We have here, then, double *matter*: the Imposition of Hands and the Tradition of the Instruments; and double *form*: the Invocation of the Holy Spirit (accompanying the Imposition of Hands), and the formula *Accipe potestatem* (accompanying

¹ p. 39.

² p. 40.

the Porrection).¹ Representative theologians who maintain this opinion are: Berti, Segna, Togni, Bonal, and, in our days, Noldin, Tanquerey, and Cardinal Billot. In his criticism of the arguments produced in support of this theory, Cardinal Van Rossum is at pains to point out that this 'double matter and double form' must be regarded as distinctly abnormal and open, therefore, to grave suspicion. For it cannot be admitted without evident proof that our Lord has constituted this double ceremony as the outward and visible sign of the Sacrament of Order; seeing that, in the case of all the other sacraments, He indicated one outward sign—and one only. The difficulty is by no means lessened, he adds, by the argument that our Lord has given to His Church the power to determine the details of the matter and form of the Sacrament of Order. For Scripture and Tradition prove up to the hilt that, in the Early Church, Holy Orders were conferred without the ceremony of the Tradition of the Instruments; and it is a matter of equal certainty that the power of the Church cannot be understood as extending indefinitely to the matter and form of the sacraments. It is certain that, during the first ten centuries, the presentation of the Instruments, or of sacred objects, was not practised. It is certain that the Oriental rite—whereby, nevertheless, the Sacrament of Order is validly administered—lacks this presentation of the Instruments or of sacred objects. And it is certain that there exists no manner of document to prove that the Church has made use of a power so extraordinary as to change the essential elements of the sacrament.²

(iv) Several authors have attempted a combination of the foregoing opinions; and have held that the essentials of sacerdotal ordination are as follows:—

(a) the first Laying on of Hands, together with the prayer of the bishop;

(β) the *porrectio*, with its accompanying formula;

(γ) the last Laying on of Hands, with the words *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*.

This is the view maintained by, e. g. Lugo, Gotti, and Egger. The arguments are substantially those of the theories mentioned above, and are open to the same criticisms.

At this point Cardinal Van Rossum pauses to examine the opinion of Thomas Aquinas. It is certain, he says, that Thomas holds that the Porrection of the Instruments is essential to the validity of Holy Order. An explicit declaration to this effect is to be found, among other places,

¹ This *double matter* and *double form*—being *both* requisite for the validity of the sacrament—must be considered as *together* making up one complete matter and one complete form.

² pp. 42-43.

in Opusculum v, *Tract. de articulis fidei et sacramentis Ecclesiae*, and in the Commentary on the Sentences, iv dist. 24.¹

Moreover, a large number of admirers and disciples of Aquinas maintain that the Angel of the Schools taught that the two Impositions of Hands are likewise essential, citing in evidence the following texts: *Summa Theol.* iii, Q. lxxxiv art. 4; *Supplem.* Q. xxxvii art. 5 ad 2; *Comment. in 2 Tim.* i lectio 3; in *1 Tim.* iv lectio 3, and c. v lectio 3.² The Cardinal transcribes these different citations, and sums up in the following terms:—

‘En quae angelicus Thomas de essentia sacrae Ordinationis docet, et quae vel ipsos eius discipulos in diversas sententias abire faciunt. Praetermissa controversia de vera S. Thomae sententia, hoc unum notare iuvat quod negari a nullo videtur, S. Doctorem speculatione mentis, non historica disquisitione hanc quaestionem tractasse, sicut tunc communiter fieri solebat ab auctoribus. Quae Pontificalia tunc in usu circa Ordinis administrationem habebant, tanquam a primis temporibus incorrupte derivata communiter considerabantur: Sacramenti veritas a nullo oppugnabatur nec proinde vindicanda erat; controversia de Ordinis essentia minime ardebat; in omnibus Sacramentis materia materialis quaerebatur; ita facile evenit ut vel summi viri in speculationes abierint, pulcherrimas utique in se, sed vi demonstrativa destitutas. Hic ante omnia quaerendum est quid Christus, unicus secundum ipsum divum Thomam Sacramentorum Auctor, instituerit, quod sane non a ratiocinio sed a traditione repetendum est.’³

(v) A fifth opinion teaches that the essence of the Sacrament of Order is to be found in the rite of the Imposition of Hands (with the prayer of the bishop) and in the rite of the *porrectio* (with the formula *Accipe potestatem*) in such a way that the sacrament would be validly administered if *either* rite were employed. Among those who hold this view we find Francesco Amico, Diana, Cottonius, and Matteucci. These authors would appear to have been influenced by the study of Oriental liturgies (which make no mention of any porrection but solely of the Laying on of Hands, with prayer, by the bishop). But the proposed accommodation is by no means satisfactory.⁴

(vi) There remains a sixth theory which teaches that the sole essential of Holy Order consists in the first Laying on of Hands, together with the prayer recited at the same time by the bishop. All the other rites—the Tradition of the Instruments and the Laying on of Hands at the end of the Mass—are but ceremonial adjuncts, venerable indeed, but distinct from the visible sacramental sign ordained and instituted by

¹ pp. 45–46.

² p. 47.

³ pp. 48 sq.

⁴ pp. 49–51.

Christ. These ceremonies, then, are purely accidental, introduced, in the course of ages, by the Church, to add to the solemnity of the function and to put in a clear light the power conferred in Ordination. Among the theologians placed in this category we may mention William of Auxerre, William of Paris, S. Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentaise (afterwards Pope Innocent V), Peter Canisius, Suarez, Arcudius, Petau, Goar, Morin, Contenson, Duhamel, Louis Habert, Huet, Tourneley, Concina, Thomas de Charmes, Drouven, Chardon, Selvaggio, S. Alphonsus Liguori, Gousset, Schouppe, Perrone, de Augustinis, Ballerini, Dubillard, Cardinal Franzelin, Oswald, d'Annibale, Palmieri, Cardinal Gasparri (the present Papal Secretary of State), Cardinal Vivès, Lemkuhl, Aertnys, Bucceroni, Génicot, Pesch, Gihl, and the majority of contemporary authors.¹

After this exposition of the different theories that hold the field, Cardinal Van Rossum sets out to search for the truth in all the documents of Scripture and Tradition. 'We must seek', he says, 'to what visible sign the Divine Author of the Sacraments has attached the invisible grace of this sacrament. This is an historic fact, and must be studied according to the rules of history.' He then propounds some excellent rules of procedure.

'Nullus certo inficias ibit tuto in antecessum statui posse has regulas :

'Si invenitur ritus, quo inde ab initio sacra Ordinis potestas collata est, qui in omnibus totius orbis terrarum Ecclesiis servatus atque per omnia sibi succedentia saecula ubique constanter adhibitus, neque unquam praetermissus aut immutatus est, is utique necessario agnoscendus est ritus essentialis ab Ecclesiae Fundatore ipsi traditus ad sacramentum Ordinis conferendum.

'Si vero inveniatur ritus, qui neque ubique, neque semper, neque omnibus Ecclesiis adhibitus est vel adhibetur, hic, utcumque caeteroquin venerandus appareat et collationem potestatis sacerdotalis pulchre ac vivide exprimat, ecclesiasticae institutionis habendus est, non divinae, neque proinde signum collativum gratiae ; Ecclesia enim signo sensibili adnectere vim sanctificationis animae non potest.'²

By the light of these rules, the Cardinal deals in turn with Holy Scripture, the Fathers of the Church and the Popes, the Councils and the Liturgies. The Rituals of the Eastern Churches (the Greek, Armenian, Syrian, and Coptic rites), and of the Latin Church (Sacramentaries, Roman *Ordines*, Pontificals), all are reviewed. The evidence all points to one conclusion : that the essential rite of ordination is the Laying on of Hands, with prayer, by the bishop. The Porrection of the Instruments is unknown in the East, while, even in the West, the

¹ pp. 51-56.

² pp. 56 sq.

first traces of such a rite do not appear before the tenth century. It cannot, therefore, be held to be, in any sense, an essential part of the Sacrament.¹

We need not discuss in detail the facts and texts which justify this general conclusion; but it is worth noticing that certain authors have affected to discover, in the Greek rite, two ceremonies analogous to the Latin *porrectio*.

(α) The consecrated Host is delivered into the hands of the neo-presbyter. But this ceremony takes place long after the termination of the Ordination—*absoluta ordinatione*.² Details of the ceremony vary in different books: sometimes there is an accompanying formula, sometimes not. In the Propaganda edition of *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, the rubric is as follows: 'When the Sacred Species have been consecrated, and the celebrant is about to say *ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσι* . . ., the neo-presbyter approaches, and the pontiff gives him the Holy Bread, saying: *Receive this which is deposited with thee, and guard it unto the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who will call thee to account for it*.'³ There is no analogy between this ceremony and the *porrectio*.

(β) The ceremony of the application of the forehead of the ordinand to the Holy Table—a ceremony not to be found in the majority of the ancient manuscripts, and absent from all other Oriental rites—is accompanied by no formula whatsoever, and is clearly altogether accidental. To urge that it is in any way analogous to the Tradition of the Instruments is to violate the clear and obvious sense of the practice.⁴

Again, in the ancient Armenian rite there was no Tradition of the Instruments with the imperative formula *Accipe potestatem*. In the twelfth century this practice was borrowed from the Latins, but simply as a solemn and edifying piece of ceremonial.⁵ In the Syrian rites of the Jacobites, Maronites, and Nestorians there is not the slightest trace of the *porrectio*. The Presentation of the Book of the Gospels, as practised by the Nestorians, is an accidental ceremony, unaccompanied by any formula, and common to the ordination of priests and deacons.⁶ An examination of the Coptic ritual yields the same result. The *porrectio* and formula *Accipe potestatem*, and the second Laying on of Hands and formula *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, are absent.⁷

The presentation of bread and wine at the ordination of priests was unknown before the tenth century, and did not become general in the

¹ p. 134 No. 322.

² p. 99 No. 230; p. 100, No. 233.

³ *Εὐχολόγιον*, pp. 136-137 (Roman edition, 1873). The words *ὥστε γενέσθαι* κτλ. form the opening of the second part of the Epiclesis.

⁴ p. 100 No. 233.

⁵ p. 108 No. 248.

⁶ p. 111 No. 259.

⁷ p. 112 No. 264.

West until the twelfth century. It was at first interpreted as a sign of the power already received¹; but by reason of the oblivion into which the ancient rituals had fallen, and by reason also of the lack of relations with the Greek Church, and ignorance of the Oriental liturgies, the ceremony became later to be regarded as conferring real power.

The last Laying on of Hands, with the formula concerning the Remission of Sins, was not introduced until the thirteenth century. Later still, in the fourteenth century, the custom of delivering the Book of the Gospels to the ordinand, during the ordination to the diaconate, became general. To the same period belongs the practice of the special Laying of Hands upon the Deacon with the words: *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum ad robur*, etc. The formula, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, in the Ordination of Bishops (which formula many theologians consider to be essential), is not found in any pontifical anterior to the fourteenth century.²

The third and last section of the Cardinal's treatise—*Difficultates et Conclusiones*—is of high theological importance. It treats of the decree addressed by Eugenius IV to the Armenians, and of the Power of the Church over the substance of the Sacraments. It is all so excellent and so clear that I cannot resist the temptation to quote at considerable length. First, as regards the decree of Eugenius: 'Constat Ecclesiam illas additiones nunquam assumpsisse aut declarasse signum sacramentale Ordinis aut eius partem, et speciatim Eugenium IV in decreto pro Armenis nihil definire intendisse, aut aliquid statuere voluisse infallibili auctoritate circa essentiam sacramenti Ordinis; verum solummodo auctoritate sua ordinaria doctrinam tradidisse, quam illa aetate communis doctores profitebantur.

'Verum quidem est errorem, qui in traditione instrumentorum partem saltem, eamque principalem, essentiae Sacramenti Ordinis reponebat, aliquando admodum communem fuisse, et multorum etiam summi nominis theologorum mentes illaqueasse; attamen constat quoque errorem illum universalem et unanimem nunquam fuisse; sed omni aetate plures auctores spectatae scientiae avitam veritatem tradidisse ac defendisse. Atque hic etiam notare iuvat errorem illud singulorum tantum fuisse auctorum, nunquam vero doctrinam alicuius scholae in

¹ The Cardinal cites in evidence Hugh of S. Victor (1141), Peter Lombard (1164), and an anonymous author of the end of twelfth century. These writers affirm that the essence of Order is the Laying on of Hands. Peter Lombard says: '*Impositio manuum dat presbyterium ordinatis*'; but: 'Cum ordinantur, inunguntur eis manus, ut intelligant se accepisse gratiam consecrandi . . . accipiunt etiam calicem cum vino, et patenam cum hostiis, ut per hoc sciant se accepisse potestatem placabiles Deo hostias offerendi' (p. 141).

² pp. 152 sq.

Ecclesia; omni aetate ex omni schola plures diversas opiniones propugnauerunt, ut supra videre est.¹

As to the Power of the Church over the substance of the Sacraments, the Cardinal's reasoning is very clear: 'Si Ecclesia potestatem habere: circa essentialia Sacramentorum, sequeretur eam statuere posse ut in uno loco sacramentum aliquod validum non esset nisi cum hac illave materia et forma quae tamen in alio loco ad validitatem non requirentur. Et idem valeret pro diversis temporibus, quum locorum et temporum eadem sit ratio. Illatio, quae multa alia absurda secum trahit, recusari non potest, a paucis tamen expresse admittitur. Non abs re erit unum saltem allegare. Cl. Billuart ita scribit: "Graecus ordinatus ritu Latinorum aut Latinus ritu Graecorum, sine dispensatione Summi Pontificis, invalide ordinaretur."² Sed rogare vellem cur Graecus latino ritu ordinatus (et Latinus graeco ritu) sacerdos non esset? An quia deest minister idoneus? Sed minister Ordinis est episcopus, qui supponitur adesse cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia.—An quia subiectum capax non est eo quod Graecus est natio? Sed perpetua praxis et traditio Ecclesiae docet in subiecto ad valide recipiendum Ordinem non requiri nisi ut sit mas, baptizatus, habens intentionem suscipiendi Ordinem.—An quia validus non esset ritus latinus? Sed hoc est de fide, dicente Concilio Tridentino: "Si quis dixerit per sacram Ordinationem non dari Spiritum Sanctum . . . aut per eam non imprimi characterem . . . a. s."³—An quia episcopus graecus adhiberet ritum latinum? Sed notum est hoc graviter quidem vetitum esse ab Ecclesia, validitatem tamen actionum non afficere. Neque intelligitur quomodo sacramentum per se nullum, validum fieri possit dispensatione Pontificis.

'Itaque necessario dicendum est Sacramenta esse immutabilia, sicut omnia a Christo instituta.

'Quod igitur unquam essentielle fuit alicui Sacramento, hoc semper fuit essenziale, et quod non semper fuit essenziale, hoc nunquam fuit. Quod sufficit in uno loco, sufficit ubique: quod sufficit in una aetate, sufficit in omnibus. Quum ergo temporibus apostolicis sola manus impositio et oratio fuit essentialis Sacramento Ordinis, haec etiam nunc sola essentialis est. Quum per decem priora saecula in Ecclesia latina Ordo sine instrumentorum traditione ministratus est, etiam nunc sine ipsa valide confertur. Et quum in Oriente sola manus impositione sacra potestas communicatur, etiam in Occidente valide sic ministratur.'

The Cardinal sums up his work in the following terms:—

'Concludere proinde fas est:

'IN HAC SOLA MANUS IMPOSITIONE ET ORATIONE SIGNUM SACRA-

¹ pp. 196 sq. Nos. 480, 481.

² Billuart *De Sacr. Ord.* diss. i art. 3.

³ Sess. xxiii Can. 4.

⁴ pp. 193 sq.

MENTALE ORDINIS, A CHRISTO INSTITUTUM ET APOSTOLICA AUCTORITATE TRADITUM, CERTISSIME INVENIRI ; reliqua vero omnia Ecclesiae auctoritate ad maiorem solemnitatem esse introducta.’¹

Cardinal Van Rossum’s treatise will, we imagine, exert a salutary influence upon future theological study, which, up to the present, has been too often conducted apart from the study of history and of the liturgical formularies of the Church. There has been a tendency to regard the works of Aquinas almost as if they were literally and textually inspired : the Cardinal has shewn that, in the case of the essence of the Sacrament of Order at all events, the teaching of the great Schoolman is out of harmony with Catholic Tradition. By proving the doctrinal soundness of his Spiritual Father, S. Alphonsus Liguori,² His Eminence has done good service to the cause of Charity and Catholic scholarship.

SAMUEL F. DARWIN FOX.

Q. S. F. Tertulliani Apologeticus : the Text of Oehler annotated, with an Introduction, by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., with a Translation by ALEX. SOUTER, B.A. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1917.)

It would be unfair to speak of this as a disappointing work, or to complain of its failure to give much that one would have been glad to have ; for the book fulfils its own promise. The author distinctly states that ‘his notes are not exhaustive, but are intended chiefly as a supplement to earlier commentaries’. It is at least matter for congratulation that the late Professor Mayor’s notes for his lectures on Tertullian’s *Apology* have been rescued from his interleaved copy of Oehler and given to the world of scholars in this form. Professor Souter has performed the difficult task of editing and arranging the notes in a presentable form extremely well, and he has greatly enhanced the usefulness of the book by adding an excellent translation page for page with the text. But we should have welcomed more ‘Introduction’—some sections dealing with questions upon which Professor Mayor’s ripe judgement would have been valuable ; such as, for instance, the relation of the *Apology* to the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix ; the text of the treatise and the probability of more than one draft of it having been published, and the connexion between these and the text of the *Ad nationes* ; the effect, if any, of the Apologists’ efforts to argue down persecution, and some reasoned theory as to the essential causes of the persecution of the Christians in Tertullian’s day. The remarks of the man in the street which Tertullian quotes in chapters 3 and 39 are

¹ p. 197 No. 482. The Cardinal has himself written these words in capitals.

² The Cardinal is a member of the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer.

important as shewing that the ordinary citizen was not actively hostile to Christianity.

It may be questioned whether it is a wholly satisfactory procedure to print Oehler's text *verbatim*, even where it is obviously wrong, and to depart from it on these occasions in the translation. True, the emendations are always noted, but they are never discussed. One desiderates, e.g. a fuller note on *Christo et deo* (p. 9) than 'So the MSS, but surely *ut* "as to" should be read (cf. Plin. &c.)'. Pliny's *quasi deo* sufficiently determines the sense in which he understood the Christian worship, and Eusebius's translation θεοῦ δίκην (*H. E.* iii 33) proves that the text of Tertullian which he had before him was *ut* and not *et*. The ironical use of *opino*r in chapters 2, 9, 11, 18, 47 does not seem to be fully brought out. Some discussion in the notes on chapter 4 of the possible existence of an actual law which tersely prohibited Christianity ('Non licet esse vos') would have been illuminating. Was there a Christian food-law forbidding blood (chapter 9), and if so, was it based on the Jerusalem regulations (Acts xv 20)? Professor Kirsopp Lake thinks not (*Earlier Epistles of St Paul*, p. 58). In chapter 16 *superficies* is used colloquially and sarcastically, 'the top-end'; there is an exactly similar use in *de pudicitia* 1, *amputantes summam superficiem*. In chapter 38 *coetus* is our modern 'caucus'.

Professor Souter has brought the bibliography well up to date, and the book is one that will be invaluable to students of the *Apology*, who will find here a wealth of references, illustrations, and aids such as only one equipped as was Professor Mayor could supply.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

Un Commento a Giobbe di Giuliano di Eclana, by P. ALBERTO VACCARI, S.I. (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici: Roma, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1915).

THERE have been handed down to us in manuscript two Latin commentaries on the Book of Job, both of which bear the name Philip in the title. The first was edited by Johannes Sichardus at Basle in 1527, the second by the monks at Monte Cassino in 1897. There is no connexion between the two works. Father Vaccari is not concerned with the first, but argues with great cogency that the second is the work of the learned Pelagian, Julian of Aeclanum.

The argument is clearly set forth. After describing the sole manuscript in which Pseudo-Philippus has come down to us, a Monte Cassino

MS in Beneventan script of the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, he shews that the doctrine of the commentary is Pelagian. He then draws out parallels in teaching between this commentary and the admitted works of Julian; among these are a number of striking instances of the use of legal terminology, and the same evidence of wide learning. This part of the study is followed by a detailed study of the language and style of the commentary and the admitted works of Julian. There is included here what must now form an essential part of such a study, namely, an examination of the use of the *clausula*, or the metrical feet in the closing words of a sentence. The next chapter is an investigation of the exegesis, and it is followed by a valuable account of the Greek sources of the commentary, now represented in *Catenae*. Points of contact with Polychronius and Olympiodorus are set forth, as well as some with an unknown Greek source. An appendix is devoted to the citations of the Greek text of Job, made in the commentary. It appears that most of these are made direct from the Greek text, and that the copy of it used by Julian was akin to the British Museum Codex A. It is natural to connect Julian's use of such a text with his residence at Mopsuestia. After an interesting examination of certain passages of the biblical text, the book concludes with a second appendix, rightly rejecting the idea that Pelagius himself may have been the author of this commentary. Father Vaccari does me the honour to quote from an old paper of mine a list of characteristic expressions of Pelagius. His conclusion on this point is confirmed by the vastly fuller collection of such expressions now at my disposal. It may even be said that the mannerisms of Julian could hardly be more different than they are from those of Pelagius. Finally the work is adequately indexed.

If one who has access neither to the Cassinese commentary itself, nor to Bruckner's *Die vier Bücher Julians von Aeclanum an Turbantius*, may venture to express an opinion, Vaccari has made good his contention that Pseudo-Philippus is the work of Julian. The reader's attention may also be called to a later paper of his in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for 1916,¹ in which he attributes a commentary on the Psalms in the Ambrosian Library at Milan to the same author, in fact the commentary which Mercati in 1896 contended was a translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's original.

The present work is beautifully printed on admirable paper, and this notice may fitly close with some notes suggested by its perusal. Page 2, line 5, for 'altchristlichen' read 'altkirchlichen'; note 3, for 119 read 118; page 4, one leaf of a Meerman MS of Philippus is in the

¹ I pp. 578-593. I owe my copy of the article to Dr Mercati's kindness.
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Museum Westreeno-Meermannium at the Hague; the author has omitted to give the ages of the two Paris MSS; page 6, n. 2, the 2 after *Script* should be omitted, as also on p. 8, n. 1; on p. 15, n. 1, I do not understand 'Rat.'; p. 69 l. 9, misprint; p. 95, l. 5, misprint; as also l. 3 from foot; p. 114, n. 1, for Haupt, read Hauck; p. 148, l. 14, p. 174 l. 13, p. 176 l. 11, p. 191 l. 8, misprints; p. 208, n. 2, for 1905 read 1906; n. 3, for 1919 read 1910.

A. SOUTER.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

OF the works that have been published since the last Old Testament Chronicle appeared in these pages, to most readers the most interesting and informing will doubtless be *Archaeology and the Bible*, by Prof. G. A. Barton (American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, 1916). The author is well known for his studies in Semitic religion, &c.; and as former director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem gained a first-hand acquaintance with the field. The book is divided into two parts (of about 460 pp.): Part I, 'The Bible-lands, their exploration, and the resultant light on the Bible and History'; Part II, 'Translations of Ancient Documents which confirm or illuminate the Bible.' Besides this, there is a section with 114 plates containing 9 maps and over 300 figures. The book is a really admirable achievement—it is priced two dollars—and is a good representative in English of Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (*J. T. S.* xi p. 117). Prof. Barton's book may be cordially recommended, for, although one may point to omissions and hazardous views, it is a distinct advantage to have in one volume the material which is here collected and presented in so handy and pleasant a form. The book as a whole is more 'Biblical' than 'archaeological'. Part I deals with the surrounding civilizations; with Palestine, its exploration and the archaeological discoveries; with the pottery and other objects; with the weights and measures, high places, temples and tombs, and finally with Jerusalem, the Decapolis, Asia Minor, and Greece. In consequence of its scope the book both gives that which an ordinary Bible handbook would omit or condense, and it ignores much that is purely biblical and upon which archaeology throws no direct light. It is pleasing to observe, in Part I, Prof. Barton's warm appreciation of the excavations by the English Pioneer Society, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and especially his cordial and complete acknowledgement of the value of the work by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, whose account of the 'Excavation of Gezer' is styled 'a model of what such a publication should be'.

Part II contains a very good selection of illustrative texts, Babylonian and Egyptian—including not only historical material, but also such important pieces as the Code of Hammurapi (nowadays spelt with -p) and some of the fine monotheistic Egyptian poems of the fourteenth century B.C. The book is well adapted for Sunday-school teachers and students, and its utility is much increased by good indexes.

More archaeological and less biblical is the handbook by Mr P. S. P. Handcock, M.A., *The Archaeology of the Holy Land* (Macmillan Co., London, 1916). Since Palestinian archaeology was first established on modern scientific principles by Prof. Hugues Vincent in his 'Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente' (1907), the need for less technical accounts with reference to excavations since that date has often been felt. For the difficult archaeological, historical, and other related problems, one must necessarily refer to Vincent, Thiersch and other specialists; but Mr Handcock's book will suffice the ordinary reader, who will find it a helpful guide to the more advanced questions of interpretation, chronology, foreign influences, and so forth. Mr Handcock, formerly assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum, and also a lecturer of the Palestine Exploration Fund, has a good knowledge of the subject, and he succeeds in giving a useful account of the arts, crafts, manners, and customs of the inhabitants of Palestine. He makes his latest limit the Roman period, and endeavours to make the ancient people live again in the objects of their religious or secular life. After a brief discussion of the chronological periods—the most important of the archaeological problems—he passes to the caves, rock-cuttings, and buildings; objects of all kinds are classified and discussed according to their material (flint, bone, stone, metals, pottery, terra-cotta). Two interesting chapters deal with burial customs and religious antiquities. There are nearly 140 plates, plans, and figures, and altogether Mr Handcock's book is a useful introduction. There are, to be sure, many cases where different or better views are possible, and here and there his remarks are not a little obscure—e.g. his treatment of the 'clean' and 'unclean' animals (p. 361 sq.). A more unfortunate impression is likely to be caused by the opening sentences, with their misleading antithesis between written sources and the 'incontrovertible and concrete facts' of art, culture, &c. Not only is the tone quite uncalled for in a serious work, but once one passes beyond the rudiments of archaeology, nothing is more certain than that the concrete 'facts' depend upon an interpretation, and that, touching the interpretation and inferences, there are some very serious conflicts of opinion. As examples of this, reference may be made to the problem of the chronological periods of ancient Palestinian culture (pp. 22 sqq.), and to the question whether certain monuments had a secular or a specifically religious purpose (cf. pp. 20 sq., 338). Besides, as a matter of principle, it is out of place for an archaeological writer to say that 'ordinary history is dependent on written statements, which are in nearly all cases either biassed by the self-adulation of the writer, or else prejudiced by the antagonistic attitude of the recorder...' Archaeologists are not faultless in this

respect. It should, however, be said that serious lapses of this sort are very few (cf. p. 101 sq. on the fall of Jericho), and that they do not at all affect Mr Handcock's book as a whole.

The Rev. J. Politeyan, B.A., publishes his lectures given at the Summer School at Swanwick, in connexion with the London Jews' Society, and elsewhere. He calls the book *Biblical Discoveries in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia* (Stock, London, 1915), and Canon Girdlestone contributes a foreword in which he points out the advantages, as an interpreter of oriental points of view, possessed by the author (a Greek by descent, with Armenian blood, and born in Cilicia). The author, for his part, emphasizes the real difference between eastern and western modes of thought and expression, and the inability of the one justly to appreciate the other. His platform is twofold: (1) That the Bible is a book of divine revelation and therefore not one to which one can apply the ordinary tests which can be applied to other works of literature; and (2) that, the Bible being pre-eminently a book of the ancient East, we must acquaint ourselves with its *true historical setting* (pp. 4 sqq.). It is clearly no easy task to run these two steeds together in harness. However, he surveys the biblical history from Gen. i to the Persian empire, bringing out briefly the data from the monuments or excavations which confirm or illustrate the biblical sources; maps and illustrations add to the utility of the book, and the reader can thus learn of the manifold ways in which the external evidence bears upon the Bible. That the author should find therein a support for conservative views is not surprising; but it is to be regretted that, instead of pursuing the questions that arise, he appears to assume that the work of modern biblical criticism is nullified. As he has published this book 'in compliance with a general wish', it is to be feared that his hearers gave too ready a credence to his remarks upon the failures of criticism and did not notice the weakness of his arguments. As a whole, the book, in spite of many useful features, is spoilt by signs of haste and impatience. He has appended a list of books in order to stimulate his readers to biblical archaeology, and he naïvely observes, 'I take no responsibility for the views expressed therein'; but what will the reader make of 'Macalister, "Palestine Exploration Fund Statement"'; 'Palmer, "The Desert"', 'Driver, "Modern Researches as Illustrated in the Bible"' (a piece of unconscious humour), 'Sayce, "Fresh Lights from Ancient Monuments"'. Other inaccuracies and signs of haste appear both here and in the body of the book. The Code of Hammurapi was discovered in 1901 not 1891 (p. 13); on p. 50 for Borghas Keui read Boghaz Keui; on pp. 57, 60, De Saulcey is wrongly spelt. Besides Mizraïne (for *-im*, p. 122), Shurich Lecture (for Schweich

Lect. p. 124 n.) and Habrai (for Habiri or the like, p. 117), the reader should correct *tebba* and *teb* ('ark', pp. 34, 88, for *tebhaḥ*), and *gama* ('papyrus', p. 88, for *gōmē*). Although the citations are not necessary for the argument, they might as well be more or less accurate; and although the inability even to transliterate Hebrew need not endanger a good argument, sometimes an ignorance of the language has distressing results. Mr Politeyan's innocence is evident when he says that 'the chief object of worship was Ashtaroth' (p. 126),—see *any* book on Judges ii 13 or on the plural form Ashtaroth. (I do not understand 'Ashta' on the same page—? emend to Ishtar or Astarte.) But the strangest case is on p. 108, where we read that the spies were ordered to 'start *southwards* although Palestine lay to the north of them'. Upon this Mr Politeyan bases an elaborate argument, whereas, had he taken the trouble to consult the R.V. of Num. xiii 17 (not to speak of any modern commentary), he might have avoided his mistake. It is much to be deplored that a book which treats of an important subject should be so marred as this is by faulty reasoning and by irrational and ignorant attack upon a criticism which it has not attempted to understand in any intelligent manner.

Mr Eric S. Robertson, M.A., has written a book of a rather novel type: *The Bible's Prose Epic of Eve and her Sons: the 'J' Stories in Genesis* (Williams & Norgate, London, 1916). It consists of a series of sketches dealing with the subjective and psychological aspects of some of the delightful stories in Genesis which are ascribed to the 'J' narrator or source. Popular affection has always clung to them; and the old Genesis and not the reshaping in the Book of Jubilees retained the love of the Jews. It is well, then, to endeavour to determine the subjective value of the narratives, to enter, if possible, into the mind of the writer or writers, and to attempt to see if some of their charm and value can be re-expressed and appreciated by ourselves. Among recent scholars some considerable attention has been paid to the literary aesthetical aspects of the Old Testament by Gunkel, Gressmann, and by Luther (in Ed. Meyer's *Die Israeliten*); and it would have been interesting if Mr Robertson could have taken some account of them, in order to test the views which these have already published. Critical work, to be of any objective value, must pay more attention to what has been done by others. None the less, for English readers such a book as this will be useful as an example of the type of psychological studies through which the Bible gains in living interest; and the more thorough the psychological analysis and the more the results are checked by reference to other departments, so much the more does the Old Testament recover its older personal significance for the ordinary reader.

After referring to 'J's share of the Bible', Mr Robertson gives eleven sketches, beginning with 'the Birth of Woman' and ending with 'Camels from Mesopotamia'. He points out how the teaching is implicit, not explicit (cf. pp. 20, 140). 'The subtle J teaches, not by laying down religious laws, but by depicting the life of religion, as it opens and expands upon human consciousness.' We descry 'an ethic that is only dawning' (p. 164). Great fundamental ideas are embodied in episodes and historical cataclysms. So, the author discourses on the Birth of Woman, of War, of Wine, of Cities, of Religion, and of a Nation; on Darkness in Egypt, Courage in Canaan, Lonely Shur, and Sorrow in Sodom. His position is between the objectively psychological and the merely homiletic, and throughout he has an eye for the lessons for the present. A special feature is an appendix on 'the common doctrine of the fall', wherein he protests against the Pauline doctrine of inherited sin through the fall of Adam. It is a fair example of the strength and weakness of Mr Robertson's method, because the proposition that there is no *historical* link between the account of Adam and Eve and man's sin does not really touch the *psychological* fact of our consciousness of sin. Man's liability to sin provokes an explanation, which different peoples have framed differently. Convincing, also, has been the consciousness of a gulf between ordinary human nature and some better, purer state of existence—another psychical fact which has forced some theory. It is psychologically impossible to conceive how any doctrine of a Fall could arise and persist apart from certain typical experiences, and it is erroneous method to confuse facts of human nature, personal experience, &c., with the mythological, historical, and all other explanations, theories, and doctrines with which we may find them combined, whether in the Bible, in Christianity, or elsewhere. Especially significant is Mr Robertson's remark about the 'painful shortcomings in humanity', and the 'evolutionary plan of creation' which 'explains our aspirations and prayers for courage' (p. 281). But this is virtually to replace one doctrine or philosophy by another; and the fact that there is no keen consciousness of sin may not be so much a sign of evolution as sometimes seems to be assumed. What is really needed is a comprehensive and co-ordinated body of thought which shall seek to do justice to all the data, and not a comfortable and complacent theory of evolution which leaves behind all the uncomfortable and disturbing features. The psychological method of enquiry is still only at the beginning; it characteristically goes to the deepest and profoundest matters, but with no coherent conception of what the underlying realities may be. Hence it must be with very mixed feelings that readers will note this and every other psychological treatment of religion. One wonders, e. g., what Isaiah would have thought of the statement:

'fear of lightning was conceivably at the basis of the idea of danger in seeing God' (p. 126). What, then, must be the real relation between the experience of Isaiah (vi 5-7), St Paul (2 Cor. xii 4), and of any more modern testimony of a similar character, on the one side, and, on the other, the very intelligible fear of lightning on the part of our remote ancestors or of rudimentary people? Could anything more clearly shew that the psychological enquiry soon involves some theory of human nature, the universe, and the actual developement of thought?

Another new work is the *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Macmillan, New York, 1917) by Professor Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., D.D., of Auburn Theological Seminary. Its novelty lies in its arrangement, for there are already well-known 'Introductions'. But while the customary method is to deal with the books according to their order in the English or Hebrew Bible, Prof. Creelman discusses the literature from the point of view of history and chronology. Thus, the books, sections, or fragments, as the case may be, are taken up period by period, and handled from the point of view of both 'subjective' and 'objective' history, so as to cover both the history as related by the Old Testament itself and the history as amplified by the literature which (on literary-critical grounds) may be taken as illustrative of each period. As a familiar example one may refer to the history of the monarchy as related in the Book of Chronicles, and the light this particular description of the monarchy throws upon the thought of the age to which the 'chronicler' evidently belonged. Consequently the work is both analytic and synthetic, and serves the twofold purpose of providing a useful summary of the various sources of the literature that is of composite origin, and of enabling the reader to realize the tendency of biblical criticism to enrich the later period of biblical history at the expense of the historical trustworthiness of the earlier. It is a painstaking and thorough piece of work, and will be specially welcomed for its very complete list of bibliographical references and the chief critical work on the book or section under discussion. Its general position is that which may be associated with the names of Driver, G. A. Smith, Skinner, Moore, and others. It is a careful and useful compilation, but with a certain absence of independence and originality. Consequently it is hardly the book to put into the hands of those who have no sympathy with modern literary criticism; while those to whom this 'moderate' position appears hopelessly inadequate would find it difficult to justify many of the views that are taken. To the present writer it seems positively futile, for example, to talk about the approximate dates of J and E as ranging between 900 and 750 B.C., when the starting-point must be the recognition that, although editors abbreviated J E

and even excised portions, yet the post-exilic age has permitted the remainder to be preserved. Hence J E, as it stands, is not P, but it bears the *imprimatur* of the editors of the post-exilic age, and is evidence for that period (cf. *J. T. S.* xiii p. 89 sq.). Moreover, to some of us at all events, there is something quaint in the statement that the date of Deut. in the seventh century B.C. is one of the 'most absolutely assured results'. Space does not permit any further reference to other details, but when, as in all literary-critical problems, questions of religious and national historical developement are inevitably involved, one is justified in believing that much more attention must be paid to these questions before the work of literary-historical criticism and the consequences for biblical theology can be said to be assured.

Hagios-Qadoš, by Anton Fridrichsen, is an interesting study on the Greek and Hebrew words for 'holy'—a reprint (in German) from the Proceedings of the University of Christiania (Dybwad, Christiania, 1916). His aim is to investigate the meanings and application of the term as a preliminary enquiry to its subsequent history in Christian thought. The uses of the Hebrew word are carefully tabulated, and in an interesting summary he briefly discusses the various theories of the origin of the conception. He agrees that it has 'grown out of' the common ground of primitive religion, and thus rejects Lagrange's view that 'holy' belongs to revealed religion, and 'unclean' is to be explained from the opposition to primitive elements of religion (pp. 28 sq.). He then passes to the evidence supplied by the LXX, and to the significance of the choice of ἅγιος. The Greek word he derived from a root which in Sanskrit means to honour or bring a sacrifice to a deity (p. 42 sq.). The use of the word in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is next handled, and a section is devoted to the meaning of the holiness of the Deity. He makes a very good point in recognizing by the side of a living, subjective feeling of what was 'holy' a rather conventional and merely edifying use of what was a traditional term; much in the same way that 'divine, divinely', and the like are loosely employed in English. This distinction between a consciousness of that which is transcendental and that of something that is merely exceptional seems to be of fundamental importance for the vicissitudes of religious beliefs; and, although the essay is not an easy one to follow, its chief merit seems to me to lie in its insistence upon the threads connecting the various nuances in literature and history and the bearing of the data upon the psychological treatment of 'holiness'.

The *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* for 1915-16, contains only one contribution of direct bearing upon the Old

Testament (viz. an ingenious explanation of the origin of the term Purim by Prof. Canney), but some of the special articles indirectly contribute. Dr Alphonse Mingana on 'The Transmission of the *Qur'ān*' is of interest for the early history of sacred literature and the speedy rise of legendary accounts of great reformers and other historical figures. 'Ships as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture', by Prof. G. Elliot Smith, apart from the intrinsic interest of the subject, is of methodological significance because of the question of the extent to which progress has been due to the influence of educated immigrants. What is important is that the mere presence of such immigrants does not necessarily imply their influence, and it is urged that the crucial factor is the use of the local population by the settlers who are exploiting some source of wealth and who can to this end control and subjugate the indigenes (p. 68 sq.). The argument is not wholly convincing, and it is difficult to understand the example on p. 72, where Pizarro's military domination of the Incas is taken as typical of what earlier adventurers may have done previously: the difficulty being that the earlier invasion is supposed to have introduced a new and progressive civilization, whereas the Spanish invasion can hardly be said to have had any exhilarating effect upon the civilization of the Incas. In fact the assumption that new knowledge has been introduced by men who compelled the local population to work for them (so again, p. 82) appears to me more like a theory of how some 'Kultur' *ought* to be imposed on other people—for their own good and for the greater glory of the exponents of that 'Kultur'!—than any hypothesis based upon facts. No one can deny that even those who work in 'gold mines or pearl beds' (p. 82) might learn *something* from the civilization of their employers, but those who are so revolutionary as to believe that civilization rests upon moral and spiritual factors will agree that Sir Elliot Smith has not proved his case. It may be noted incidentally that he ascribes to the Egyptians the conception of a ship as a living thing—as a dragon (p. 91 sq.); 'there can be no doubt that *this* quaint idea spread from one centre along the whole extent of the European and Asiatic littoral.' Is this why sailors call the ship 'she'?

George Dahl, Assistant Professor of Old Testament Literature at Yale University, has published a useful monograph: *The Materials for the History of Dor* (Connecticut Academy Transactions, May 1915, vol. xx, pp. 1-131). This little-known city enters into Palestinian history at several important periods, and Dahl's piece of research is very welcome. Together with the monographs on the history and geography of Gaza and of Sidon, by Meyer and Eiselen respectively (published by the University of Columbia), it prepares the way for

a new and wider grasp of the history of the land, and therefore for a new and firmer comprehension of the nature and significance of those religious vicissitudes which we are apt to mark off rigidly from one another, according as they 'belong' to the Old Testament or to the New Testament, and so forth. Among other suggestions may be noticed his explanation of the 'three heights' (? of Dor) in Joshua xvii 11 as due to a misunderstood gloss ('the third [town in the list] is Naphath'); this he supports by Ezek. xxi 14, where the obscure 'third time' apparently referred originally to the three occurrences of the word for 'sword'. As an indication of the varying fortunes of the city, Dahl points out that it is not mentioned at all by the classical Arab geographers (i. e. from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D.), it is passed over in lists and enumerations as though there were no town in the locality worth mentioning (p. 121); on the other hand, about the twelfth century B. C., Dor is prominent in the remarkable Egyptian record of the ambassador Wenamon; it maintains a fleet, and its king conducts himself with no little dignity and confidence before the representative of the Nile empire (pp. 34-38).

A translation of *Job*, in the Hebrew rhythm, by Colonel (retired) G. A. Noyes (Luzac, London, 1915), confines itself to the poetical portions (with the omission of the Elihu section). The effort is made to get a close metrical approximation and to present the same number of syllables in each line of the English as in the Hebrew. 'The translation may, in parts, be considered somewhat free, but, in view of the limits imposed by its nature, this seems to be unavoidable. In those cases where the Original admits of varied readings the writer has uniformly adopted the one which appeared to him to fit in best with the context and to maintain a connected sequence of ideas.' This quotation from the Preface is enough to indicate where readers are likely to differ from Colonel Noyes. For, while one may appreciate the diction of the translation, the Book of Job is often unfortunately much too difficult and obscure for one to rely upon a rendering without notes or comments to justify that which has been selected. The work is evidently the result of much care and thought, and the meaning of the Hebrew is frequently brought out clearly; thus the vague words ix 35 (RV 'for I am not so in myself') are paraphrased 'for in heart I am not as I seem'.

Mr R. R. Harwell's dissertation on the *Principal Versions of Baruch* (Yale University, 1915) is a painstaking and independent piece of work, worthy of closer attention than can here be given to it. It is a small monograph dealing with the relation between the different versions, and

the question whether they were at all directly influenced by any Hebrew text. He argues that the whole book (and not a part only) was written in Hebrew, and he upholds a pre-Christian date for the Greek translation. His treatment of the problem of composition and date, on pp. 63-66, is suggestive, but too brief to be convincing. Special attention is paid to the edition of Baruch by the late Dr O. C. Whitehouse (in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*), and in particular to his theory that the Syriac translator had before him the Hebrew original of the first three chapters of Baruch. Mr Harwell holds that the entire book is written in 'translation Greek'—but it may be said, without expressing any opinion upon the strength of his examples (pp. 52 sqq.), that the specimen of retranslation which he offers on pp. 57 sqq., is rather suggestive of 'translation Hebrew', e. g. the use of *קליית* for 'captivity' (and not 'exile'), and in the constr. st. (for *ל*), and in iv 9 *הַחֲרִיבִין*, an absolute example of the 'abomination of desolation'.

Fresh evidence of Spanish interest in Old Testament studies is to be seen in two fascicules of *Estudios de Crítica Textual y Literaria*, by A. Fernández Truyols, S.J. (Pontif. Ist. Bibl., Rome, 1917). They comprise (1) a brief introduction to the textual criticism of the Old Testament, and (2) text-critical notes on 1 Sam. 1-15. The two can be conveniently taken together; they give the reader a very adequate notion of the nature of textual criticism and its application to a portion of the Old Testament notorious for textual difficulties. Fr. Truyols provides a very useful introduction on the state of the Masoretic text and the way in which errors can be determined and corrected; little has escaped him, and he even takes note of the Nash papyrus in the University Library of Cambridge, upon which writers—less remote—sometimes fail to comment (p. 65). He devotes a very reasoned and searching examination to Naville's strange theory of the original language of the Old Testament (pp. 47-58), and does good service in recording the rules of textual criticism, as proposed by Houbigant, de Rossi, Driver, and others. There is also a useful examination of the employment of metrical theories (pp. 110-129). *À propos* of ancient scrupulosity (e. g. Baal changed to Bosheth), the author remarks that he has read a MS of the life of St Francisco de Borja where the copyist, in his detestation of 'liberalism', everywhere replaced the adjective *liberal* by some other synonym—*generoso, dadivoso, noble*, &c. (pp. 33 n. 3). He might have noticed the care taken in the early printed Hebrew Bibles to avoid printing the divine name *Elohim*. As a whole, the author's attitude errs on the conservative side, and one feels that a closer attention to the typical variations among parallel passages (to which he pays some attention) would have thrown more

light upon the nature of glosses, errors, and adjustments. For, often, it is not merely a case of textual corruption, but of subsequent adjustment; and here it is necessary to account, not for every variation, but only for the initial error or variation, which in turn will account for the rest. Further, it is true that the question may be, not which of two or more texts and versions is most perfect, but which is genuine (on 1 Sam. xiv 41, p. 87); but here at once deeper problems are involved, and the student has to make up his mind whether he is proposing to recover what (e.g.) Saul said, what the tradition or traditions relate that he said, and what more or less important conclusions can be drawn from the variations.

Two purely philological works may be briefly mentioned. (1) An entirely new edition of the familiar *Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, by the late A. B. Davidson, from the competent hands of Prof. J. E. McFadyen (J. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914), presents an old friend in a rather new and strange dress. Many alterations have been made—in order to reduce the horrors of Hebrew—a noteworthy feature being the addition, in the exercises, of sentences for pointing. A rather disconcerting feature is the unavoidably large number of corrections (p. xiii sq.)—due to the war (the work was set up in Leipzig)—and it will certainly be necessary at the earliest opportunity to issue a new edition in which they shall be incorporated. On this occasion note may then be taken of the following, which have been observed in passing: p. 93 l. 6 read פ; p. 120, פִּהֲנֶה in place of פִּהֲנֶה; p. 127 (no. 3), the remarks on הִינִיךְ are a retrogression from the earlier edition and the usual view; p. 162 (no. 9) read לְכֹל. (2) Carl Gaenssle's pamphlet, *The Hebrew Particle אשר*, is a dissertation submitted to the University of Chicago (Cambridge University Press, London, 1915). It is a practically exhaustive discussion of the etymology and syntactical use of the relative particle in 142 pages, with complete index of the passages cited. He concludes that אשר and ש are not etymologically akin; and while the latter goes back to *ta*, one of the two demonstrative roots (§ 8, the other being *za*), the former was primarily a substantive denoting place. Of this primitive sense he finds many traces in the Old Testament, and he strongly supports his argument by pointing to the Assyrian use of *ašru* (*ašar*), and to analogies in other languages (§§ 33, 41 sqq.). There are some persistent misprints on pp. 37 sq., 70 (Arabic *dāl* for *dhāl*).

Om 'Den Gammeltestamentlige Theologi' som Theologisk Disciplin, by Johannes Jacobsen (Gad, Copenhagen, 1912), a little book on the history of Old Testament theology as one of the disciplines, is a broad

comprehensive sketch of its main features from the time of the Reformation to the present day. The author takes note of both 'conservative' and 'critical' tendencies, and of the extension of the subject through modern archaeological and other research. Perhaps the most illuminating example is the twofold treatment of Gen. xiv, as the chapter appears to Winckler and Völter respectively (pp. 72 sqq.). The rival 'pan-Babylonist' and 'pan-Egyptological' methods swallow each other up, but the author is content to specify and describe the various features in this field of enquiry rather than to take any constructive critical steps. The pamphlet is, in fact, an admirable bird's-eye view of the steps leading up to the present stage of Old Testament criticism, and illustrates at once its progressiveness and its incompleteness.

STANLEY A. COOK.

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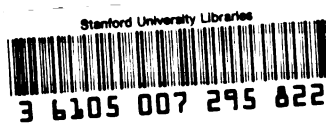
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